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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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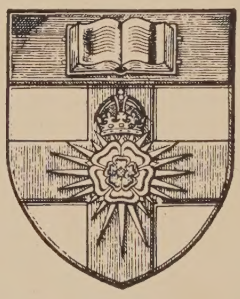

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Samuel S. Shaw

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1916—JUNE, 1917

VOLUME L

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MEMBERS DECEASED,

July, 1916 — June, 1917.

Resident.

1897,	Richard Olney	April 8, 1917.
1901,	Nathaniel Paine	Jan. 14, 1917.
1903,	Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	Feb. 24, 1917.
1906,	George Sheldon	Dec. 23, 1916.

Corresponding.

1897,	Joseph Hodges Choate	May 14, 1917.
1903,	Horace Davis	July 13, 1916.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1916.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 19th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the regular day having been a holiday; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Cabinet-Keeper, reported the following gifts:

From R. C. and N. M. Vose, a photograph of a portrait of Jonathan Amory, of Boston, in their possession.

From Frank W. Grinnell, a framed lithographic view of Baltimore in 1752, drawn by J. Backman, and copyrighted in 1856 by John W. Medairy.

From Grenville H. Norcross, two photographs of Madison Avenue, New York, at 40th Street, in March, 1888.

From T. Hassall Brown, of Boston, a photograph of a portrait of Col. Joseph Jackson, by Badger.

From Mrs. Arthur M. Crain, of Cranston, Illinois, an oil portrait of Daniel Brown Widdifield (1800–1862), of Boston, by William H. Beard.

From the estate of Mrs. Eugene F. Fay, an old-fashioned tinder-box, and an instrument used for splitting straw for braiding.

From the estate of Miss Martha Curtis Stevenson, through Mr. Lawrence Curtis, a silver badge worn by her as a member of the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War.

From the Misses Frances Greely and Annie Brace Stevenson, a silver Harvard medal with the inscription: "Fide et Amicitia K. P. S.

1809," which was given to their father, the late Dr. Jonathan Greely Stevenson.

From Mr. Foster, a collection of forty-eight medals and twenty-one jetons, including twenty-six of European celebrities, and interesting medals of the Society of the Cincinnati, and Sons of the Revolution.

From C. P. Greenough, a silver medal of the Harvard Natural History Society given to him by that society.

From the Law School of Harvard University, at the request of Judge Julian Mack, of Chicago, the bronze Ames Prize medal of the school.

From Louis Francis Brown, of New York, the bronze medal of the New York City Tercentenary Shakespeare celebration of 1916.

From Nathaniel T. Kidder, of Milton, a set of four Centennial medals, 1876.

From Waldo B. Fay, the new Fay School medal, Southboro.

From the Calumet and Hecla Mining Company, the silver Shaw-Agassiz medal struck to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Calumet and Hecla Mine.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, the bronze centenary medal of the Church Missionary Society, 1899.

From Francis H. Manning, the silver medal awarded to John Heard Manning by Dummer Academy, Byfield, August, 1827.

From Mr. Bowditch, the medal of the Paris Exposition by Coudray — the Orpheus medal.

By purchase, thirty-seven medals and store-cards.

From Frederick J. Ranlett, a photograph of a panel in the Rev. Isaac Braman house at Georgetown, Mass., bearing a list of students of Harvard College rusticated there from 1801 to 1818.

In this connection is printed a letter from Mr. Ranlett:

July 5th, 1916.

My dear Mr. Ford, — I believe you were interested in the old panel from the Rev. Isaac Braman house in Georgetown, so I am sending you a photograph of it. I call it, "A Register of the Rusticated."

You will notice that the first signature is that of James Savage. Perhaps the academic frailty of your former President may now, without impropriety, be drawn from its "dread abode."

The fourth name is that of Capt. Abraham Fuller Hull, who fell at the battle of Lundy's Lane; and there are other names of some distinction.

The facetious certificate at the bottom, signed "C.D.," is probably by Cuffey Dole, an African man-servant who is said to have ruled the Braman household with a high hand.

In reading Edmund Quincy's charming old-fashioned story of rustication, I fancy I detect a striking similarity in many respects between the Rev. Adrian Bulkeley and Mr. Braman, and between Jasper and Cuffey. Mr. Bulkeley must have "reigned," to use his own word, about fifty years. Mr. Braman was Pastor for fifty years and Pastor Emeritus for ten years more. Both passed safely from Arminian tendencies to the firm ground of Calvinism! The old darkies, too, match finely, two good Dromios — masterful spirits both, and both of ebon blackness. The geography of the story is, thinly disguised, that of Essex County; thus the title "Wensley" is Wenham and Rowley rolled into one, or, if you prefer, it is New Rowley, (the old name of Georgetown), with the "New" transposed. The "s" is inserted, of course, for euphony. Moreover, Wensley is about twenty miles from Boston; so is Georgetown. Thus all roads lead to Mr. Braman's parsonage. Was Quincy, too, one of the rusticated?

Notices of Mr. Braman may be found in Hurd's *History of Essex County*, I. 827, 859 (with his portrait); and in Palmer's *Necrology of Alumni of Harvard College*, 214. See also the "Funeral Discourse" by Rev. David T. Kimball. For Cuffey's romantic history, see Hurd, I. 815.

Both master and man are buried in the Union Cemetery, Georgetown: the parson has his marble pulpit with an open Bible on it, and Cuffey has a neat slate tablet with its urn and weeping willow — all in the best mortuary sculpture of the time.

Very sincerely yours,
FRED'K J. RANLETT.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Mr. J. K. Moffett of San Francisco, inquiring as to the origin of the Latin motto in the arms of the Commonwealth.[1]

The Editor reported the following gifts and purchases:

From the heirs of Jacob Rowe, through Mrs. Anna Rowe Cunningham, of Milton, the manuscript diaries of John Rowe (1715–1787), a merchant of Boston and a leader in the transactions of the merchants of Massachusetts in the troubled politics of the stamp-act and revolutionary periods. With some omissions, these diaries ex-

[1] See 1 *Proceedings*, VIII. 298.

tend from 1764 to 1779, an invaluable record of the times. They were used in part in the volume *Letters and Diary of John Rowe*, issued by Mrs. Cunningham in 1903.

From the estate of Mrs. Eugene F. Fay, of Brookline, lottery tickets, sold in Providence, R. I., in 1825 and 1826, a survey made in 1750 by Washington, two papers signed by W. Fairfax and G. W. Fairfax respectively, and other land warrants and documents.

From Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, of Worcester, a framed document, dated April 15, 1669, being an accusation against John Manning by Hagar Blackmore, with signatures of his bondsmen — Edward Oakes and Peter Towne — and of Daniel Gookin and Thomas Danforth.

From Frank W. Sprague, some papers of Leavit Sprague, of Hingham, among which are a copy by Hosea Sprague of a manuscript of Peter Hobart, of Hingham, containing David Hobart's book of records beginning 1635, and later entries; and the following contemporary issues of ballads on the war of 1812, from the press of Nathaniel Coverly, Jr.:

Brilliant Naval Victory. Yankee Perry better than old English cider. Tune — Three Yankee Pigeons.

Battle of Plattsburg. Tune — Battle of the Kegs.

Capture of Little York: or Dearborn victorious in Canada.

Peace on Honorable Terms to America [Treaty of Ghent.]

Unparralleled Victory. [Battle of New Orleans.]

Capture of Washington.

Liberty and Peace.

A Happy New-Year to Commodore Rogers, or Huzza for the *President* and *Congress* [December, 1812.]

Peace! Peace!

Pat's Observations on Harrison's Victory.

Offset for the Chesapeake, or the capture of Fort George, and repulse of the Enemy from Sacket's Harbor.

From Miss Annette P. Rogers, an interesting MS. plan of South Boston, made in 1804.

By purchase, some 2500 documents and letters relating to Massachusetts, and covering the period 1649 to 1840.

Papers of William Eustis (1753–1825), being a diary notebook, 1816–1817, and letters from General W. North, Christopher Gore, H. S. Langdon, W. Hull and others.

The PRESIDENT then said:

The chair announces the death, on June 28, 1916, of Thomas Russell Sullivan at his home in Boston. Mr. Sullivan was

elected a member of the Society on April 13, 1916, but his health suddenly gave way and he was never present at a meeting. He had accepted his election, however, and the fact that he had been chosen a member of the Society gave him very great pleasure. In the work of the Society and in the Society itself, by taste as well as by inheritance, he was deeply interested, and, had his life been spared, he would have been an active and diligent member. I cannot content myself in this case with the customary formal announcement of a member's death. I must add a personal word, for Russell Sullivan was one of my best as he was one of my oldest friends. I cannot recall a time when I did not know him, and his companionship is entwined with all my earliest memories as it is with those of the succeeding years down to the final parting. There was a period of separation in our youth, when his connection with the banking house of Bowles Brothers took him to Paris; but separation thus compelled made no change in the friendship begun in childhood, and after he retired from business and devoted himself to literary work the old and constant association was renewed, never again to be broken by prolonged absence. He achieved a large success in literature as the author of some of the best short stories which have appeared in our time, of several novels and of various successful plays, of which the dramatization of Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* for Richard Mansfield was, perhaps, the most widely known. One of his last publications was a most attractive book about Boston, the Boston of his boyhood and youth, warm with affection and touched with the imagination and humor so characteristic of his best work. But the uppermost thought in my mind as I speak of him to-day is not of his achievement or his success, but of the friend whom I have lost. There never was a man with a greater gift for friendship, for he was of a most loyal and affectionate nature. He was a most delightful companion, sympathetic in a high degree, with an abundant and rejoicing sense of humor as well as great personal charm. A lover of art in all forms, endowed with remarkable powers of observation, he had travelled widely and knew cities and men. He was well and deeply read in many literatures, old and new, and master of several modern languages, with a keen and unfailing interest not only in his own subjects, his own

pursuits and occupations, but in those of his friends, in public events and in the life of his time.

A devout lover of the greatest of poets and dramatists, he cannot be described better than in Shakespeare's words:

> The dearest friend to me, the kindest man,
> The best condition'd and unwearied spirit
> In doing courtesies;

Such indeed he was to me and to all whom he honored with his confidence and his friendship.

Mr. Wendell spoke as follows:

When Russell Sullivan was elected to this Society last April, I took the news to him straight from the meeting. He had been ill, though one did not realize how critical his condition was. He received me in his library with that beaming smile which all who knew him love to remember. We had a few words about his gladness for the honor the Society had done him, and how happily he looked forward to attending our meetings. So ended a friendship cloudless and strengthening through more than forty years.

It was in the summer of 1875 that I saw him first. He had lately returned from his years in France; he was playing in some French theatricals. I remember no other friend who has changed so little to the eye. His placid smoothness of feature and his conspicuously heavy moustache gave him an individuality hard to disguise; and, fond as he was of acting, and skilful in rendering character in all manner of theatricals, he always looked himself. Once you had seen him, you never forgot him.

Quite how we came into real friendship I cannot remember in detail. Both of us were among the younger men who once hoped to carry on in Boston the tradition of our New England literature, yet were somehow of a time so different from that which was passing as to make fully sympathetic relations with the older generation impossible on either side. We younger men, too, were never so much at one as the more eminent and more deeply indigenous men of letters who made Boston remarkable in the mid-nineteenth century; we were more critically disposed, more alertly aware of standards other

than those of our own country and less given to such mutual admiration as Holmes classically described in the *Autocrat.* Still, some of us came to be life-long friends; and Russell Sullivan was the life-long friend of us all.

In his friendship, as I remember it now, there was one quality deeply characteristic. Friendship cannot be friendship without full confidence; and no one could ever inspire more unshrinking confidence than he. There was never about him, either, the slightest trace of suspicion, of reticence, of prudent reserve. He thought for himself, and said what he thought, about all manner of men and things. Yet, as one stops to think, one is surprised to find how little he spoke, and how little he seemed to think, about himself. Without secretiveness, he was never confidential. His thoughts were ours, and the loyal heart of him, too; but his circumstances were his own.

They were sometimes more troublous, I think, and certainly more anxious than most of us imagined. He had a long period of something like poverty; his health was often not so strong as it seemed. More troublous still, however, one can begin to see now, he probably found the circumstances of his artistic life — the phase of his life which he cared most about. Unless I am all at fault, there has never been in New England anybody who more fervently cherished the deep artistic faith that those who attempt to make anything ought never to swerve from the ideal of beauty. It is in the power of any artist to leave this world a little more beautiful than he found it. Thus a passing life can most surely make for the happiness of lives about it and of lives to come. Sullivan was not a prolific writer, and never came to write swiftly or with unconscious ease. There was never a moment, though, in his whole literary career, when he faltered in effort to do what he was doing as beautifully as it could be done. Quite such fortitude of artistic conscience, among his artistic surroundings, was almost unique. So, again and again, there must have come to him a sense of solitude. A heart less stout than his might well have found it benumbing.

As one remembers him now, nevertheless, solitude is the last thing which comes to mind. What one thinks of is rather the boundless generosity of his artistic friendship. If any of us did anything which he thought well done, he was

the first to tell us so; and to tell us in a way all his own. He was free from morbid consciousness of self, with all its instinctive jealousies. To him a thing of beauty, great or small, was a joy forever, whoever made it. The world would be the happier for it; that was enough. He never dreamed of asking whether it was the work of someone else or his own; and he never failed to welcome anything, however slight, which should make for happiness.

So now it seems, as I think of our meetings through more than forty years, that there was never one of them that one could wish a bit other than it was. Hardly any except that very last stays sharply distinct in memory; but the memory of all, as they fuse together, is tenderly harmonious. There is about this memory, too, a growing certainty that as the years passed when his generosity of spirit and his simplicity of heart made others happier, his own happiness grew firmer, deeper, more serene, even to the end. There can be no doubt that, even though fate has prevented him from ever meeting with us here, the recognition which his election to this Society implied made his last day brighter. So in commemorating him to-day, we may be gladly sure that an act of ours gave a crowning pleasure to a man of beautifully gentle and happy memory.

Mr. Grant read as follows:

My friendship with Russell Sullivan began in the late seventies. He was some two years my senior and we had known each other slightly as boys; but it was not until after his return from Europe in 1873 that we saw much of each other. He was already a member of the Papyrus Club when I joined it, about 1880, and the similarity of our tastes soon made us intimate. At the monthly meetings of the Papyrus the literary fledglings of that day — would-be poets and novelists — were wont to try their wings, presided over by the picturesque and warm-hearted John Boyle O'Reilly, already himself an eagle, who crystallized the spirit of our gatherings in his fervent poem, "I would rather live in Bohemia than in any other land."

Sullivan had been fitted for Harvard, but circumstances obliged him to renounce his plan of going to college. From 1866 to 1870 he was employed on State Street. In 1870 he entered

the service of a banking firm with offices in London and Paris. In one or the other of these cities he lived during the next three years, which later served him as a literary background, for he had a gift for languages, an accurate and retentive memory and a habit of recording interesting experiences or conversations. He returned to Boston in 1873 with the intention of becoming a man of letters, notwithstanding that his days were mortgaged to the Union Safe Deposit Vaults. From 1873 to 1888 he followed business by day and letters by night, and although he rarely wrote a line until after his routine labors were over, he produced during these years a notable amount of work. His original ambition was to be a dramatist, and from 1876 to 1880 he prepared a number of adaptations from the French for the Boston Museum. His adaptation of Labiche's *Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon* gave William Warren the excellent part of Papa Perrichon, which was also played through the country for a season by William H. Crane. In 1886, with the permission of Robert Louis Stevenson, he dramatized *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* for Richard Mansfield, one of that actor's most striking and profitable successes. In 1891 he wrote for Mansfield the tragedy *Nero*, which, although he declared himself under obligations to an Italian play on the same subject, was virtually original.

A few days after Warren's retirement from the Museum, following the retention by the management of the lion's portion of two benefit performances, all Sullivan's manuscripts were sent home to him without a word, and his connection with the theatre thus broken abruptly was never resumed. "But for this," he writes in his diary, "it is possible that I should always have been a dramatist or at any rate chiefly known to the public by my work for the stage." But he had already at the suggestion of James R. Osgood, who was on the lookout for rising talent (I remember recklessly selling three novels *short* to him at about the same time myself), started on his first novel, *Roses of Shadow*. This was published in 1885 by the Scribners, Mr. Osgood having failed just before it was finished, and in 1888 Sullivan decided to burn his bridges, or, in other words, to go out of business and devote all his time to literary work. Simultaneously with this decision he began the series of tales, which, after their appearance in *Scribner's Magazine*,

were published in 1890 under the title of *Day and Night Stories*. A second series with the same title followed in 1893. Both these collections found many admirers among cultivated and discriminating readers. They seem to me Sullivan's most distinctive work, although there is much literary quality in his novel, *The Courage of Conviction*, which appeared in 1902. The dialogue quoted on the title page of the first series, "O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!" "And therefore as a stranger give it welcome," is germane to the contents. Most of these stories deal with occurrences which savor of the weird and mysterious, yet are so skilfully constructed as to leave the reader free to choose, according to his temperament, between strange coincidence and the supernatural. The setting of all of them is so charmingly finished that they seem a series of little pictures, whether the scene be European, which it was apt to be, as in *The Lost Rembrandt* and *The Anatomist of the Heart*, or native, as in *Out of New England Granite*. They are nearly all in a minor key, almost melancholy in tone, with a sigh, as it were, for a vanished past of color, costume, ceremony and magic. Sullivan was a laborious writer. Five hundred words was a large day's work for him. He would have been the first to say that his audience was a small one; but his instincts and his workmanship were those of the true artist. A magazine editor, himself a scholar, referring to one of his contributions, writes, "I don't know in any of your stories a better example of just the quality which makes me value them so much — an indefinable quality, which is not half expressed by an overworked word 'limpidity,' but which certainly comes from a very remarkable unforcedness and self-possession in the style which helps the strength even of the strongest material. Holmes says a man can be a gentleman even in his prayers. It seems to me he certainly can be even when he conveys the strongest emotion — at all events the strongest emotion of other men who think and see as he does."

This is not the occasion to speak of his writings in more detail. One of his last books, published in 1912, was in the field of historical reminiscence, *Boston New and Old*, a sumptuous little volume with illustrations by Hornby.

Sullivan had a most engaging personality. He was essentially

a gentleman in his tastes and conduct of life, singularly loyal and generous in his impulses, highly sensitive, but ever sympathetic and cheerful in his relations with others, whatever his own anxieties. In 1893 his left eye became clouded and the use of either eye was forbidden him for a year. When he was allowed to resume work, the sight of the affected eye was virtually gone. Yet he never complained, and those who knew him as an assiduous worker forgot that for more than twenty years he was half blind. The stage was his first love, but he took an enthusiastic interest in all that appertained to art and letters. The verses that he wrote for social occasions were graceful and spirited and he never refused a request to figure in private theatricals. His tastes brought him in contact with many celebrities, with some of whom he became intimate — including William Warren, the actor, whom he adored, and Salvini, of whom he was a veritable hero worshipper and with whom he corresponded regularly for more than thirty years. In the last year of his life he had arranged to have Salvini's letters to him printed, and the publication has been only temporarily delayed.

During nearly ten years, starting from 1890, Sullivan kept a journal which contains in addition to much of a private nature a graphic and entertaining series of notes bearing on the interesting personages he met and the important occasions on which he was present. It is probable that they will be privately printed.

Professor BASSETT read a paper on "Peter Force and the American Archives," based upon a chapter in his volume on the *Middle Group of American Historians*.

By the courtesy of Miss Sara Norton the EDITOR is permitted to print the following:

LETTERS OF JOHN STUART MILL TO CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

AVIGNON, Nov. 24, 1865.

DEAR SIR, — I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 30th ulto. It is needless to send me the *North American Review*, as I am already a subscriber to it; but I am always glad to hear from any of the writers and to be enabled to identify an article with its author. The essay on American Political Ideas I had read the day before I received your letter. There is a good cause why

the Americans are more attached than the people of other countries to the principles of their Constitution; it is because their Constitution has principles. The British Constitution has no principles: it is the unpremeditated and unplanned result of a secular conflict of opposing forces. There are however, principles, not laid down in words, but involved both in the English and in the American institutions, viz., personal freedom; liberty of thought and publication; and, in America, perfect civil equality between one person and another. To these principles the people of each country are strongly attached, but in neither are they thoroughly carried out, though by you far more nearly so than by us. I hope you are going to carry the last of them into effect as between white people and black; after which it will still remain to bring it into operation between men and women.

I have great pleasure in subscribing to every word of the practical exhortations in your concluding paragraphs. Society in the Southern States has to be democratized in law and in fact, on the principles of the Declaration of Independence otherwise the sufferings and sacrifices of these glorious years will be more than half lost. And this will be easily done if the people of the Northern States do but will it. The opinions, feelings, and entire civilization of the North have made a wonderful stride since the war began. If they are not yet quite up to the final mark, who can blame them? May they reach it before anything irrevocable has been done in restoring the rebel States to their constitutional rights. I am, Dear Sir, Yours very sincerely,

J. S. Mill.

My address is Blackheath Park, Kent, from whence, in my absence, letters are forwarded.

Blackheath Park, Kent, March 18, 1868.

Dear Sir, — It is a worthy act on the part of the New England Loyal Publication Society, to resume its operations for the purpose of contending against the deplorable doctrines now afloat in the United States about currency and the obligation of contracts. A breach of faith with the national creditor by the people of the United States, under whatever disguise, would be, in my estimation, the most unfortunate event for the morality of the world, and for the reputation and progress of free institutions, which at the present time could possibly happen; and of all modes of defrauding the public creditor, that of cancelling the debt by handing over to him a vast quantity of paper depreciated to worthlessness by excessive issue, would be, in its practical operation, the worst. If, as you do

me the honour of thinking, anything that I could write on the subject could in the smallest degree aid your exertions to ward off this calamity from your country and from mankind, I should feel bound in duty to do what little I can for the purpose. Unfortunately, it is impossible for me to write anything requiring care and concentration of thought during the session of Parliament. But to the extent of a letter, or a short article adapted for a newspaper, I could promise: and if you would kindly let me know the form and mode of publication which you would prefer I will do my best to meet your wishes. I am, Dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

J. S. Mill.

Avignon, Sept. 11, 1868.

Dear Sir, — I regret that your arrival in England should have taken place just after I had left for the Continent with no prospect of returning until the eve of the general election. Should you still be in the neighbourhood of London at that time, I hope I may have the pleasure of seeing and conversing with you.

The changes in the opinions and feelings of large bodies of Englishmen and Englishwomen even within the last few years, are as striking to me as they are to you. The old fetters of prejudice and routine seem to be giving way, on all sides, and what is wanted now is clear and well considered positive opinions. All the great subjects, political, social, and religious, are brought into question; and there is a preparation going on in England, as there is in the United States, for a much better settlement of them than the world has yet had: but, naturally, the evidences of this are not so obvious on the surface as are those of the breaking up of old doctrines.

You probably think that I have forgotten my promise to write a letter on the Repudiation question, for publication in America. I have always kept it in mind; but as long as the session lasted, I never found time, nor was able to turn my mind to the subject with sufficient steadiness. Since I have been here, I have written the draft of a letter which now only requires revision, and when it is finished I will forward it to you, to be made use of in any manner which in your judgment it may be fitted for. Will you kindly let me know if it should be sent to your present, or to what other, address? I am, Dear Sir, very truly yours,

J. S. Mill.

Avignon, Sept. 24, 1868.

Dear Sir, — Along with this I send you the letter which I have written for publication. I have, on consideration, thought it best

not to address it to an American newspaper, which would be too like arrogating to myself the right of lecturing the American people. I have given it the form of an answer to a private friend who has asked my opinion on the question. If you will honour me so far as to *be* that private friend, please fill up the blank at the beginning with your own name. In any other case, three stars must stand for a name.

Should there be any mistake of fact, or anything that seems to you injudicious or otherwise objectionable in the letter, you would do me a favour by pointing it out. It is unnecessary in that case to send the letter back, as I have kept a copy.

There is no doubt that the feeling of the mass of the working classes in England is very much alienated from the propertied classes. They are very strongly imbued with a sense of the opposition of interest between the receivers of wages and the payers of them. But I do not think that this feeling has reached the point of personal hatred between classes. I think that the operatives have confidence in the good will towards them of many persons in the higher and middle ranks, and that experience has taught them to expect that the others will be brought round gradually by the joint influence of conviction, persuasion, and prudence. The intelligent, who are the politically active part of the working classes, are not impatient; they have a sincere dread of the mass of brutal ignorance behind them, and have consequently set themselves to demand very vigorously a real national education. This they will soon obtain, and it will alter, in an incalculable degree, all the bad elements of the existing state of things. Already the aspirations of the workmen to the improvement of their physical condition, are pointing not so much to anything to be done directly by the State, as to what they can do for themselves, by co-operation. Revolution and civil war will not come from their side of the question; for, when their minds are sufficiently made up, the existing political institutions are sufficient to carry into execution their will. The political enfranchisement of women, whenever it takes place, will further strengthen the influences opposed to violence and bloodshed. The only question which may possibly become dangerous is that of the land. There are signs of a rapidly growing conviction in the operative classes that the land ought not to be private property, but should belong to the State. This opinion, which has always seemed to me fundamentally just, may perhaps come to maturity before the landholding classes are prepared even to listen to it; and in that case there will be bad blood and violent class animosities: but even then, as far as I am able to anticipate the future, it seems to me that the probabilities are in favour of the settlement of the question by a suc-

cession of compromises, without coming to blows. I am, Dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

J. S. Mill.[1]

[Enclosure.][2]

Avignon, Sept. 24, 1868.

Dear Mr. . . . , — You ask me what I think of the controversy now going on in the United States respecting the rightfulness of paying off a portion of the national debt contracted in cash, in a depreciated paper currency, and of taxing, in violation of an express compact, the interest of the national bonds. It is painful, even to have to answer such a question. It is already a great calamity that two such proposals should have been inscribed in the electoral programme of a great political party, and not unanimously rejected even by its opponents. The success of either proposal would, in my estimation, be one of the heaviest blows that could be given to the reputation of popular governments, and to the morality and civilization of the human race.

This is one of those vital questions which send us back to the first principles of social existence, and compel us to ask ourselves what are the conditions which enable mankind to dwell together in nations and communities, to work together in joint undertakings, and exchange the privations of the savage for the blessings of civilized life. The very first and most essential of these conditions is, that

[1] "What you write to me of the disposition of the working classes is of the deepest interest, and authoritatively confirms some of the conclusions to which my very limited observation has been leading me. But there are two sources of danger in the present social condition of England to which you do not refer, and the importance of which, it is very possible, I may overestimate. One is the incr[easing] number of the unemployed and almost unemployable class — those who would work if they could find work to do; and those who would not work, even if work were abundant and wages fair. The other is the ignorance and hopelessness of the mass of agricultural and mining laborers. The vast number of the people of England who barely support existence, who have no opening or hope of improvement in the present condition of society, and have nothing to lose if nothing to gain by change in the established order, is a fact that weighs heavily on one who comes from a hopeful country. This mass of hopeless people, with ultimate dependence on the poor-rates as their best prospect, is no doubt very inert, very incapable of dangerous combination in quiet times. But when the discussion of such questions as those of property in land, of the limits of income, etc., once begins in earnest — and this discussion seems near at hand — they can hardly fail to be roused, and their excitement becomes dangerous in proportion to the ignorance and dulness of their minds.

"But I am glad to trust to your more cheerful views, and to believe that I am mistaken in feeling serious solicitude." *Extract from Mr. Norton's reply.*

[2] Printed in *The Nation*, October 15, 1868, as a "letter recently addressed by Mr. Mill to a private friend in England."

they should be able to trust one another's engagements. Even savage life could not be carried on unless the savages frequently helped one another: in civilized life every human being depends for comfort, for security, often for life itself, upon things done for him by other people. If he could not rely upon other people for doing what they undertake; if his experience taught him that a man who makes a promise, does so with the intention of only keeping the promise if it happens to be quite convenient; he would have to look to himself alone for all protection, and for the supply of all his wants. He would be below the condition of most savages. If we cannot trust each other's word (was the saying of an eminent man) we may as well go back to the woods.

But if there is one case more than another, in which it is indispensable that men should keep their promises — should do what they pledge themselves to do — it is the case of money contracts. All the complex fabric of our civilization rests upon the paying and receiving of money; every one's plans of life, and almost every one's assurance of living at all, are built upon the expectation of receiving, at the appointed time, the money or money's worth due to him from others. If any one buys a thing, and then does not pay for it; or sells a thing, and then does not deliver it; if any one hires services, and does not pay the wages agreed on, or receives wages, and does not perform the service; if any one borrows money or money's worth, and, though able, does not repay it at the time agreed on, or withholds the equivalent which he had bargained to give for its use; the defaulter not only proves himself a dishonourable and dishonest man, he not only inflicts an injury, which may be serious, which may be even irreparable, upon the individual who has trusted him, but he does what lies in him to dissolve and put an end to that trust in one another, without which there would be no exchange of commodities, no separation of employments, and no man would have any satisfaction for his wants, except what his own labour or craft could directly provide. The impossibility of carrying on human society, even in an almost rudimentary state, without holding men to the fulfilment of their engagements, has always been so obvious, that there is not a single known community, past or present, in which provision has not been made for enforcing those engagements, by laws and tribunals, supported either by a public force set apart for the purpose, or, in ruder societies, by the collective strength of the community.

Can any reason be given why the obligation of good faith, which holds between one man and another, is not equally binding between the entire community and any person who has trusted them? Is a promise made by the whole people through their authorized agents,

less sacred than a promise made by a private person, which also may have been made through his agents? Ought the fact, that there is a tribunal which can compel individuals to keep their contracts, and no tribunal which can coerce a nation — ought the fact, that the debt of a nation is a debt of honour — ought the fact, that a nation *can* be a swindler and a knave if it chooses — ought this to make any civilized people think that it can dispense in its own favour, with the duty which its own tribunals enforce against its citizens? Unless it be a sufficient license for committing a crime, that it can be committed without any immediate penalty except the disgrace, there is no other difference between the two cases but such as make the criminality greater, of a nation which robs its creditors, than of an individual, for, in the first place, a nation always *can* pay its creditors if it chooses; which cannot always be said of an individual. And in the next place, a breach of faith by a whole people involves everybody in the guilt, except such as with their whole heart and strength denounce and protest against it. It is an example of fraud displayed in the sight of mankind, and penetrating into every family in the country. It is a direct sanction of the like dishonesty to every citizen in his private transactions. Let any one be really persuaded that a whole people may break its word, and refuse to pay in full the money it has borrowed, is he likely to think that he himself is culpable for doing the same in his own private affairs, if he can manage to evade the legal punishment which is the only real distinction between the two cases?

The detractors of democratic government on this side of the Atlantic have been accustomed to say that however specious may be the arguments for it, in its actual working it would turn out to be a retrogradation towards barbarism. Until now, the example of the great American republic, notwithstanding the dishonourable conduct of several of the States (most — would that I could say always — among those which had been demoralized by slavery) has generally been deemed a practical refutation of these sinister prophecies. But the charge against democracy of being a return to barbarism would be made out, if its effect were to be the public repudiation of pecuniary engagements. It is a remarkable fact, that what the people of the United States are now urged to do with respect to the five-twenty bonds — urged by the programme of a political party (happily not by every member even of that party) bears an almost exact likeness to some of the most disgraceful misdeeds of the European despots in the middle ages. Read the history of the most profligate Kings of France, and other European countries, not excepting England, and see who were those whose conduct excited the greatest public indignation during their lives, and left the

deepest stain on their memory when dead. They were those who debased the coin. What was their motive for debasing it? To put off their creditors with the same nominal sum of money, but a less quantity of the precious metal. Even the despots were so conscious and so much afraid of the infamy of this fraud, that they generally endeavoured to commit it secretly and in silence. They made it a capital offence to betray the secret. Would they have been less guilty if they had impudently brazened it out? Living in a rude age, the only means at their disposal for committing the fraud was the coarse expedient of altering the coin. Their ingenuity had not reached the contrivance of putting forth pieces of paper which pretended to be money and were not, inducing people to take them by a promise printed on the paper to give for it on demand real money of the same nominal value, and then breaking that promise and issuing them in such numbers as to be only worth half the money which they purported to represent. But this roundabout way, and the direct way, have the self-same purpose: to get rid of debts, by paying, instead of what one has engaged to pay, what is called the same sum of money, but is really a much smaller sum. And this example, set by the despots of barbarous ages, the people of the United States, in the ninety-second year of their national freedom, are invited by many of their active politicians to imitate!

Observe, too, that none of the apologies, poor and weak as these are, which have been suggested to the nations of Europe by the same sort of bad advisers, have any applicability to the case of the United States. The Democracy of European countries have sometimes been told that they are not bound to pay their national debts, because the money was borrowed by Kings and aristocracies who did not represent the people, and was expended in keeping the people in subjection or in carrying on foreign wars which the people had not authorized. None of these lame excuses can be alleged by the American repudiators. The most audacious pleader for dishonesty cannot deny that the money was borrowed by a Congress and a President elected by, and fully responsible to, the people — borrowed for the service of the American republic in its utmost need, for a war which was emphatically a war of the people, and in which the stake involved was the preservation of their collective existence as a nation. The only persons in whose mouths any other doctrine can possibly be sincere, are the ex-rebels and their favourers. To all but them, it is impossible even to conceive a case in which the obligation to pay the debt, principal and interest, to the full extent of the contract, could be more binding.

A plea which imposes upon some people, who would shrink from anything which they themselves regarded as repudiation, is this:

Greenbacks, however they may be depreciated, are legal tender — are the lawful currency of the United States: other persons are obliged to receive this currency in payment of all their dues, and why should the public creditor be an exception? This seems to have been the argument which prevailed with the upright, but not always clearsighted or discerning mind of the late Thaddeus Stevens. But the answers to it are manifold. The first is, that *almost* all persons except the public creditor have the remedy in their own hands. Those who have goods to sell, can and do demand a higher price; those who sell their services can and do require a higher remuneration. Even in loan transactions that are yet to come, the lenders know the chances they are exposed to — are aware that the medium they are to be paid in is of uncertain value, and can and will require a rate of interest sufficient in their estimation to cover their risks. To all these persons the uncertainty of the measure of value is a source of great inconvenience, but to none of them is it an injustice. Injustice *is* done to those who had lent their money, or had otherwise become entitled to fixed annual incomes, before specie payments were suspended. Among these are the old creditors of many of the States. All persons thus situated are grievously injured, by being paid their interest in depreciated greenbacks, and would be still further defrauded if the principal were repaid to them in a similar medium. But at least the nation collectively had incurred no obligation to these persons, beyond the general obligation of good government. It had not specifically pledged the national honour to them. Even the separate States never, I believe, pledged their faith to their creditors that they should not suffer this particular injury; however binding the obligation ought to have been felt, in honour and conscience. That pledge *has* been given to the creditors of the United States. I make no distinction between payment of the interest, and repayment of the principal. The bonds themselves, it is not denied, stipulate expressly that the interest shall be paid in cash, but are silent as to the principal. That the obligation, however, applied to principal as well as interest, was universally understood; was expressly declared by the authorized agents of the nation whenever the question was asked; was not then gainsaid by any of those who are now attempting to shake off the obligation, and was only not declared in express terms because nobody thought that such a declaration was necessary, or could add any strength to the pledge. In consequence of this understanding the loans were obtained at rates of interest very low under the circumstances; far lower than would otherwise have been possible. Governments which pay their creditors in inconvertible paper always borrow, if able to borrow at all, on much more onerous terms than

other governments. If those who lent their savings to the United States had been told at the time, that every thousand dollars they lent should be repaid to them in greenbacks which might then be worth not more than a thousand cents (the depreciation of the French assignats amounted to that and more) nobody, unless he could afford to make the nation a present of his money, would have parted with it unless at a rate of interest sufficient to insure him against this extreme risk. The United States obtained these great sums of money in their extreme necessity, at an interest (all things considered) not very much exceeding what the high value of capital in a new community compels them to pay in ordinary times; and after having reaped the benefit — having by that indispensable help, saved their national existence, they are now exhorted to withhold the price, at the cost of the national honour.

The same reasons of justice and good faith apply still more obviously to the condition, expressly stipulated by the lenders, that the interest on the bonds should not be subject to direct taxation. Some people imagine that the breach of this stipulation would not be robbery provided that the bonds are not taxed at a higher rate than other property. Now I find it stated as a known fact, that they are already subject to the same direct taxation as other property; that the income they yield is subject to income tax. But even if they were not, of what consequence would it be if exemption from all direct taxation were a condition of the contract? And exemption expressly stipulated for, is not an unjust advantage conceded to them over other people, whence for every advantage so obtained, value has been given by those who enjoy it, in the shape of a diminished interest. The only difference in respect of taxation between them and the rest of the public is, that they have paid down their taxes in advance, while other people wait for the visit of the tax-gatherer. To make them pay over again, under pretence that they had not already paid, would be one of the most flagrant forms of the iniquity of breaking a contract and keeping the pecuniary consideration received for it.

But there is little danger that these immoral counsels will prevail. It has been shewn by many examples in the recent history of the United States, that an agitation for something wrong and mischievous may go on for a certain length of time without visibly stirring up the good sense and honesty of the country to resist it; and many such agitations commence, culminate and decay, without disturbing public tranquillity, or leaving any permanent traces of their existence: but that when one of these agitations attains a sufficient height to begin to be dangerous, a mass of opinion which ordinarily remains quiescent rouses itself into activity, puts down

the wrong thing with a vigorous hand, and peremptorily demands the right thing instead. So, I doubt not, it will be with this pernicious and discreditable, but, as I firmly believe, chiefly factitious movement, set up by political adventurers for the chance of gaining the few stray votes which, in the present state of parties, might suffice to turn the balance of many an election.

I am, Dear Mr. [*blank*], very sincerely yours,

J. S. Mill.

Avignon, Oct. 4, 1868.

Dear Sir, — I am truly glad that you are pleased with the letter, and that you think its publication will be of service. On the matter of fact as to the liability of the bonds to income tax, my original impression was what I now learn to be the correct one; but I found the contrary so positively stated in articles and letters in newspapers, that I supposed I had been mistaken, and altered my first draft accordingly. The rectification you have been so kind as to make will perfectly meet the case.

I should have been glad if your name could have appeared in the first line, but on that point your judgment and feelings must decide.

I have no uneasiness as to the future of England from the two points in its condition which you mention in your letter. Those "who would work if they could find work to do," will, I think, find their field of employment greatly widened by the rapid progress of industrial improvement, and such of them as the growth of the national wealth does not provide employment for, will be more and more taken off by emigration. "Those who would not work even if work were abundant and wages fair" are a comparatively limited class of the lowest of the population, and whatever they make it necessary to do in order to keep them in obedience to law will have the fullest support from the respectable working people. "The ignorance and hopelessness of the mass of the agricultural labourers" are in a fair way to be removed. The movement will soon be irresistible for a national education which will include them; and as soon as they have intelligence to know that better wages are to be had in the manufacturing towns, or in the United States or the Colonies, they will flock thither. Emigration, already so great an element in the social economy of Ireland, is only beginning to reach the agricultural districts of England. It will be the great safety valve, and will, I think, prevent the stir that is sure to take place in the minds of the agricultural labourers from having any other than a wholesome effect.

In the United States, ever since the North shook off the yoke of the South, the most favourable prophecies are always those which

are verified. Allow me to say with what pleasure and instruction, always increasing, I read the *North American Review*. The July number is perhaps the best I have yet read. I am, Dear Sir, yours very truly,

J. S. Mill.

Blackheath Park, Kent, Nov. 15, 1868.

Dear Sir, — I received your letter when on the point of setting out for England on account of the elections; with which I have been fully occupied ever since. I regretted much to hear of your illness, from which I hope you have, long ere this, completely recovered.

We may congratulate ourselves and each other on the political prospect in both our countries. The election of Grant and Colfax will, to all appearance, be followed by the return to Parliament of a large majority to support a Gladstone government. Your anticipations have proved true as to Butler, but that is of very minor consequence.

I return to Avignon in a few days, and I fear I shall not be able within that time to pay my respects to you at Keston; but if you are passing anywhere near Blackheath and can find time to look in upon me, it would give me much pleasure to see and converse with you. I am, Dear Sir, yours very truly,

J. S. Mill.

Avignon, Nov. 28, 1868.

Dear Mr. Norton, — If you do not leave England early in the spring, we may still have an opportunity of meeting, as, although I shall not hurry away from here as I have been obliged to do when in Parliament, while the weather is still wintry in England, I shall be at Blackheath, most likely, in the course of the month of March. My absence from the House of Commons is personally a very great relief to me, and therefore I have declined the invitations I have received to stand elsewhere. I accepted the invitation made to me three years ago, partly because of the reproach which has often been made against the literary men of America, that they would not enter into political life; a reproach however, which I do not think well founded. Moreover, there were at that time some points which I thought could be usefully brought before the public through the House of Commons. Nor were the relations of America and England so settled then as now. At present I am very glad to be free from parliamentary work, much of which is a great waste of time, more especially during the height of the violent party contest on such a point as the Irish Church, the final result of which does

not admit of a doubt, and yet which will cause a deplorable waste of time and energy. There are always periods of this sort in the practical working of politics, when those whose taste or talent lies rather in principles than in details can be of more use in literary than in political life.

I regret the defeat of the radical party throughout the country. It seems to have been owing to the want of organization on their side, and to the great expenditure of money on that of our opponents. It remains to be seen, and I cannot venture to predict, how far our friends will be discouraged by the result. Those with whom I am myself in communication seem to be stimulated rather to more efforts; but perhaps they may be the most energetic among us. It is in any case satisfactory to find that if these elections have been carried by money, there is at all events so much money on the moderate liberal side; since after all, as a question between Gladstone and Disraeli, Gladstone is triumphant. When we consider how slow the English mind is to move, we must look upon this as a success, and trust to the Press to prepare the way for more progress hereafter. I am, Dear Mr. Norton, very truly yours,

J. S. Mill.

Avignon, June 23, 1869.

Dear Mr. Norton, — Few things could be more pleasant or more encouraging to me than such a letter as yours. It is a great satisfaction that you not only agree so completely with the little book,[1] but think so highly as you do of its probable influence. It is quite true that it was written principally with a view to the state of society and opinion in England; and even with respect to that, it bears traces of having been written, as it was, several years ago. I am aware that the circumstances of the United States are, for the reasons you give, decidedly more favourable than those of the old country. Accordingly, the movement commenced in America, and is much more advanced there than in England though it is advancing very rapidly in England too. It will probably be some time before a Committee of the House of Commons will recommend the admission of women to the parliamentary suffrage; but the repeal of the legal provision which excluded women from the municipal franchise, has just passed the House of Commons unopposed. The present session will also see (unless the Lords stop it) the right of married women to their own property and earnings acknowledged, and placed on the same footing in England as in most of the States of the Union. We live in times when broad principles of justice,

[1] *Subjection of Women.*

perseveringly proclaimed, end by carrying the world with them. Your great anti-slavery contest has done that much for mankind. How little did the contemporaries of the voyage of the *Mayflower* suspect what was to come of it!

America will probably also be the first to resolve the complicated question of marriage and divorce. It cannot be resolved until women have an equal voice in deciding it.

If we were going to stay here, we should not envy you even your magnificent view of the Lake and the Dent du Midi; but we are going back to England, though only for a few weeks. With our kind regards to Mrs. Norton, I am, Dear Mr. Norton, very truly yours,

J. S. Mill.

Avignon, June 26, 1870.

Dear Sir, — I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of June 17.

I agree, in the main, with all that you say respecting the limitation of the right of property even in moveable wealth. I never meant to say that this right should be altogether unlimited, nor to ascribe to it sacredness in any other sense than that all the necessary conditions of human happiness are sacred. I do not, indeed, quite agree with your friend Mr. Wright,[1] when, in the passage quoted and concurred in by you, he seems to say that, from the utilitarian point of view, the right of private ownership is founded *solely* on the motives it affords to the increase of public wealth; because independently of those motives, the feeling of security of possession and enjoyment, which could not (in the state of advancement mankind have yet reached) be had without private ownership, is of the very greatest importance as an element of human happiness. But this is probably a difference rather in expression than in opinion between us.

There is, however, this great practical difference between the case of moveable wealth, and that of land, that, so long as land is allowed to be private property (and I cannot regard its private appropriation as a permanent institution) society seems to me bound to provide that the proprietor shall only make such uses of it as shall not essentially interfere with its utility to the public: while, in the case of capital, and moveable property generally, though society has the same right, yet the interests of society would in general be better consulted by laws restrictive of the acquisition of too great masses of property, than by attempting to regulate its

[1] Chauncey Wright. See Norton-Howe, *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, I. 328.

use. I have, in my *Political Economy*, proposed limitations of the right of ownership, so far as the power of bequest is part of it, on the express ground of its being injurious to society that enormous fortunes should be possessed by gift or inheritance.

My daughter and I are greatly obliged to you and Mrs. Norton for your kind invitation. It would be a real pleasure to us both to avail ourselves of it. But we have been calculating lately whether we can afford to allow ourselves, this summer and autumn, a holiday of ten days or only one of four, and such are the calls on our time and the quantity of work we have to do that we have been compelled to decide for the shorter of the two.

The announcement that I was to be at a meeting in London on the 15th of this month was quite unauthorized. The request did not even reach me till after the meeting had taken place. We leave here in a few days, and shall be at Blackheath (where please direct) in the second week of July for the remainder of the summer.

The death of Dickens is indeed like a personal loss, even to those who knew him only by his writings. I am, Dear Sir, very truly yours,

J. S. Mill.

Professor Bassett communicates a copy of a letter found in a New England house about 1915. It was lent to Miss Margaret A. Milroy, of Houston, Texas, a student in Smith College, Northampton, who gave permission to copy.

Elkanah Lane to Prudence Lane.[1]

Parkman [Maine], January 26th, 1839.

Dear Sister, — It has been so long since I wrote that I shall be some troubled to frame a satisfactory excuse. I have been some time in this predicament, which I would give, as one reason, for my not having written before; and another which began to operate before this had much effect, was the loss of your letter, which I could not find, having searched repeatedly; and not being able to answer your Arguments on Abolition without it, I delayed writing in some hope that it might be found; and also through some fear, that I might be charged with making this excuse through inability to answer your arguments. And another reason I would give which had

[1] Conjectured to be children of Elkanah Lane of Swanzey, although the names in the latter part of the letter do not correspond to any available record. Elkanah, Jr., was born October 23, 1783, and married, in 1804, Sarah Foster. His mother's name was Esther ——. Prudence, born December 22, 1802, married, in 1842, Jonathan Eaton, of Westminster, Mass. Her mother's name was Annis Knight. Read, *History of Swanzey*, 390.

some bearing before the others and some with them, was the little time I had to devote to writing — particularly to write an argumentative letter. I felt even at the first a perfect willingness to attempt an answer to the arguments in your letter on Slavery, the most of which I considered as not having any bearing upon me. For I profess to have as much Sympathy for the poor Slave as Abolitionists and as much desire for their emancipation — and more for their emancipation from the chains of spiritual darkness. For Abolitionists are professedly opposed to the measures that have been adopted for their colonization and their being put in their own country under the influence of the Gospel. And the measures also they have taken have prevented in the Southern States in some measure the ministers of Christ from laboring among them, through fear, that they might excite in them a Spirit of hostility against their Masters.

The Abolitionists it is true have done some good, but I think I have reason to fear that they have done more evil. They have not been sparing of their censures upon those that have not fallen in with their views; and have manifested much asperity against their own brethren. In consequence of which in almost every Church in our country Brother is at war with Brother — uncharitableness, discord, and contention prevail. And what is gained? How many of the two hundred and fifty million slaves in our Country have been liberated? Through all the non-slave States they have had their agents travelling at considerable expense, holding Anti-Slavery Conventions, lecturing in almost every neighborhood where they could get any considerable number to hear them, circulating their Periodicals, Pamphlets, and Tracts. And what we may say has been effected thereby? Many Abolitionists have been made in these Northern States. But what bearing have all these efforts had upon Slaveholders? They have not attended their conventions, nor heard their lectures, and probably have read but few of their Publications. If any of these have fallen into their hands, have they not in general been more than calculated to irritate and inflame the mind than to convince of the evil of Slavery? Particularly those which have no foundation in truth, — such as the History of Williams, etc. If slaves are ever set free by their Masters, I think it must be from one of the following causes — 1st, Through the influence of Moral and Religious Principle; 2nd, Receiving for them an equivalence; 3rd, not being for their temporal interest to employ them as slaves; or 4th, being disgraceful to hold them. It will not perhaps be contended that they are more under the influence of the principles of the Gospel now than before the days of Abolitionism. But the fact is they are less so; of course will be less affected by those Principles. And as it respects the second cause, I have never heard of any being set free

by the Abolitionists by purchase. They prefer rather to appropriate their money to employ agents, etc., as before stated. In accordance with the third consideration, Abolitionists have endeavored to convince us, here to the North, that it would be more profitable for slaveholders to set free their Slaves, and then to hire them, than to have their labor gratis. Though this may be true, it would be very difficult, so fully, to make the Slaveholders believe it, as to change a certainty for an uncertainty. The Abolitionists as it regards the disgracefulness of slavery, have had no influence upon it. It cannot become disgraceful, until it is generally abandoned; and it will not be generally abandoned, until some other principle is brought to bear upon it. I must tell you I by no means approve of the rash measures which have been taken to put down Abolitionism. They are contrary to the letter and spirit of our National Institutions, and are to be condemned by all men of Principle, and by every lover of Civil and Religious Liberty. I am willing the subject of Slavery should be fully discussed, fairly and candidly, not only here among ourselves, but in our national Councils. But I do disapprove of some means made use of to produce excitement. I disapprove of the uncharitableness and censoriousness of many who boast so much of being the friends of the Slaves. I was at Mercer[1] last fall and found there was difficulty in the Congregational Church in consequence of Abolitionism. There were a number of Mr. Sykes' Church and Society who would not hear him preach because, as they said, he was in favor of slavery (or rather because he was not an Abolitionist). A distinguished man belonging to his society told me that he did not believe that any man who was in favor of Slavery (a common term for those who are not Abolitionists) or any slaveholder had one spark of Religion. I see daily its bad effects in our own Church which is perhaps more torn and distracted by it than any other; and I fear it will eventually end in a Schism. I should be reconciled to this, could the emancipation of the Slaves be effected; But I almost as much believe should there be Slaves in the Moon that the Abolition Measures, here adopted, would effect their emancipation, as they would the Emancipation of the Slaves of the Southern States. And I believe that some of the measures they are pursuing, and some of the principles adopted by many, are not in accordance with those of Christ and his Apostles. But I have said enough of this subject, more perhaps than you will have patience to read.

I would inform you that about a year ago I disposed of my farm in Foxcroft and last spring moved in with Elisha and Sarah where

[1] Somerset County, Maine.

we have been until the present time; but expect to move back to Foxcroft in about 2 months upon a farm I lately bought. God has done much for us as a family since I wrote. We had a very special outpouring of the Spirit of God in our neighborhood last winter in which we had reason to think that Wesley, Esther, Almira, and Edward shared. About twenty-five of the youth in the School I had taught for two winters before, we had reason to think were subjects of God's pardoning Mercy. The whole number probably who were subjects of the work were not less than eighty or ninety. But we have [our] sorrows as well as our joys. Elkanah a year ago last Spring went [off] and left his family and we have not to a certainty heard from him since. His conduct was bad previously to his going away. His wife has gone back with her children to her fathers. Samuel has bought the farm on which he lived. He has been in the neighborhood of Houlton near the British lines for upwards of a year. Wesley has bought with me. He is now at Sebec engaged for a year. Esther is at Mercer at her Brother Baker's who came down the other day and carried her up. Almira and Edward are with us. We have anxiously desired to hear from you, of your health, enjoyment, and prosperity: and that of Mother's. We wish also to hear from all our friends; to all of whom we all would wish to be remembered. I hope this letter will find you not only in health of body but in Spiritual Health, living to the glory of God and the best interest of the soul. And I hope that Mother, as she feels the infirmities of old age coming on will seriously reflect on the shortness of time, the few days she has to continue here and apply her heart to wisdom, being careful as the outward man decays to have the inward man daily renewed. I hope she will be patient to suffer and willing to do whatever God's will requires, implicitly relying on the Divine Promise that all things shall work together for good to them that love him. Remembering at the same time that it is through much tribulation that we are to enter into the Kingdom of God. Perhaps we may never all meet here again; if not I hope we may be prepared to meet in Heaven — the joy of which meeting, I sometimes anticipate and for which I hope we shall all labor, which is the prayer of your affectionate and unworthy Brother,

E. Lane.

P. S. If I have hurt your feelings by not writing before, I hope you will forgive me. I own I have been faulty; but I hope the reasons I have assigned may be with you some extenuation of my guilt. It has been more difficult for me to write the past season, than usual my time not being my own. I hope you will not do as I have done, but write immediately. I teach in Atkinson the present

winter. I have finished one school and expect to commence another of two months next Thursday. Yours, etc.,

E. LANE.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. THAYER and W. R. LIVERMORE.

To

THE Court of Seſſions have appointed Thurſday and Friday the third and fourth Day of *Auguſt* next, to grant Licences on Spiritous Liquors: You are hereby notified to Attend accordingly, as there will be no other Day allowed for that Purpoſe.

Boſton, July 17. 1769.

MEMOIR

OF

GEORGE HARRIS MONROE.

By EDWARD STANWOOD.

George Harris Monroe was of the sixth generation from William Munroe, who was born in Scotland in 1625, and arrived in America in 1652. It is supposed — from the fact that on his arrival he was sold as an apprentice — that he was one of the prisoners of war taken by Cromwell. The custom was that such prisoners were sold in England to shippers, who brought them to America and sold them into service for a term of from three to ten years. At all events, Cromwell was victorious in the battle of Worcester in 1651; and in the same year a cargo of prisoners, four of whom bore the name of Munrow, was consigned to Thomas Kemble of Boston. It is believed that William was one of the four, although the name on the list that may have been his was obliterated. The tradition is that he was bound out to a farmer named Winship, who lived in that part of Cambridge which is now Arlington. By 1657 he was evidently free, for in that year he was fined in Cambridge for not having rings in the noses of his swine. The penalty was imposed upon him in the name of Row, which was used indifferently with Munrow in those times when surnames were not definitely fixed, and were spelled variously. He settled at Cambridge Farms, as the territory that now forms Lexington was then known, about the year 1660, was married three times, and reared a family of seven sons and six daughters. The tribe increased amazingly. Marrett Munroe, the great grandfather of the subject of this memoir, was the youngest of seven children, and mentioned eight of his own children in his will. One of those children, Nathan, the grand-

MHS

Geo. H. Monroe

father of George, was a member of Parker's company, and participated in the battle of Lexington. There were no less than eleven Munroes in that affair on Lexington Common, beside a twelfth in the Danvers company, but they were all no nearer to Nathan or to one another than third or fourth cousins. Nathan was the father of nine children, of whom Harris, the father of our late associate, was the youngest.

George was born at Dedham, where his father died in 1834, on August 28, 1826. When Harris Munroe moved to Dedham James Monroe was President of the United States, and as the Lexington family was otherwise unrepresented in the neighborhood, it was a natural thing for the townspeople to adopt, and for Harris Munroe to acquiesce in, the change in the spelling of his name to conform to that of the President. A year after his death the family removed to Wrentham, where George received his preliminary schooling at Day's Academy. Even at the early age of ten years he began to show the bent of his mind, for he was always reading whatever he could lay his hands upon. There was a small library at the academy, and he read every book in it.

A more thorough education, but not that of the schools, began when, at the age of sixteen, he came to Boston and learned the printer's trade in the office of Samuel N. Dickinson.

Like many another conspicuous light in journalism, born to poverty and having from teachers but the rudiments of an education, he learned, and learned to love, literature and public affairs, while putting into type at the printer's case the written words of others. Soon his knowledge was broadened by the duty to which he was assigned as a proof-reader. That occupation may easily turn a young man into a pedant, a literary prig, whose eyes seek out minor and unimportant defects in typography and diction, and overlook greater faults, and fail to appreciate beauty of style and power in the argument of that which he reads. Young Monroe was not a proof-reader of that sort. He learned to distinguish between good and bad writing, between sound and unsound reasoning. For that he had the best of opportunities, for he transferred his services to the University Press at Cambridge, where, until the year 1859, his occupation required him to become familiar with much that was good as well as new in literature, and with some to

which that description does not apply. Among other books with which he then became acquainted before they reached the reading public were some of the tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was then in the period of his greatest and best productivity, and Mrs. Stowe's *Dred*. He also had the opportunity to absorb the eschatology of the Millerites, who issued from the University Press books and pamphlets proving the imminent doom of the earth and the beginning of the millennium.

Meantime, as early as 1849, when he was only twenty-three years of age, he had a short engagement as an editorial writer for the Lawrence *Courier*. Apparently he undertook no other original literary work for several years, but in 1857 he began writing Boston letters for the Dedham *Gazette*, some of which, at least, he wrote in the office of the *Gazette*, for he then lived in Dedham. In 1859 he bought the *Norfolk County Journal*, which was published at Roxbury, to which city he removed as soon as he was sure that his enterprise was to be successful. In the *Journal* office he was sole proprietor, sole publisher, sole editor, sole reporter, and sole proof-reader. Notwithstanding the nearness of Roxbury to Boston, and the fact that the *Journal* was a weekly, he quickly attracted attention to his paper by the ability with which he conducted it, and its success continued even after the annexation of Roxbury to Boston, at the beginning of 1868, when he changed the name of the paper to *Suffolk County Journal*.

A most important result of the attention which he attracted in political and journalistic quarters was the invitation he received in 1866 to send weekly letters to the Hartford *Courant*. The editor of that paper first applied for the service to Mr. William S. Robinson, whose "Warrington" letters to the Springfield *Republican* were eagerly read in political circles. Mr. Robinson, not feeling able or willing to divide his allegiance, suggested Mr. Monroe, who accepted the duty, and then began to write the "Templeton" letters which he continued to furnish every week until within a year or two of his death, a period of about thirty-five years. His engagement with the *Courant* was terminated even then only because he accepted an offer to transfer his services to the New York *Herald*.

After disposing of his interest in the Roxbury weekly he was for some time connected with Mr. Slack's *Commonwealth* as an

editorial writer; and then became editor for a few years of the *Saturday Evening Gazette*, which was practically a Sunday newspaper, before the days of the huge Sunday issues of the dailies. When the *Gazette* languished he sought employment as an occasional contributor to the Boston *Herald*. Mr. Holmes, the editor, quickly recognized the value of Monroe's services and made him a permanent member of the editorial staff. From that time, for a period of about thirty years, he retained the position. His connection with the *Herald* ended only with his death, on October 15, 1903. During all that time, notwithstanding more than one change in the management of the paper, he was the recognized leader writer on all important political questions.

It would not be easy to exaggerate the importance of the service which Mr. Monroe rendered to the community. To be sure, his influence was not exerted upon the thought of a very wide circle. None of the papers to which he contributed had much more than a local circulation. But in Boston and in New England the influence was great, although not one in a thousand of those who read what he wrote knew his name or was aware of his existence. A keen observer and a friend of many prominent men, he was able in his letters in the *Courant* to throw light on every changing phase of state and municipal politics. A close student of public affairs and of political principles and history, and gifted with an acute mind and a ready pen, his work as an editorial writer did much to mould the opinion of the community. Although he was a man of unusually independent views on public questions, and of absolute courage in expressing them, he was always courteous in controversy, and never stooped to the use of pettifogging argument.

It is an indispensable qualification of a member of the staff of a daily newspaper that he shall be able to produce much "copy" every day. Of course he must be versatile, and must be able to write clearly and well, but he must surely be able to write a great deal. Mr. Monroe had all those qualifications. This Society has ample evidence of his productiveness, for his family has given to us more than a hundred scrapbooks in which are carefully pasted his letters to the *Courant* during more than three decades, and thousands of his editorial articles in

the *Herald*, besides a full set of the *Norfolk County Journal*, which he "edited" by writing practically all its original matter. Those scrapbooks will become exceedingly valuable material for history, hereafter. Little or nothing that it is worth while to remember regarding public and social events — not society events, in the newspaper sense — in the history of Massachusetts during the last quarter of the nineteenth century will be lacking to the student of those letters and articles.

Mr. Monroe possessed one qualification which most employing editors probably regard as a disqualification. He wrote a most unreadable hand. No compositor unfamiliar with it could decipher it and put his "copy" in type. A contest in cacography between Greeley, Murat Halsted and Monroe might be decided in favor of any one of the three. But the possession of the gift was a security to Monroe against the amendment of his work. It was theoretically the practice of Mr. Holmes, his editor, to read the editorials of the leader writers; but he could not read Monroe's manuscript. There were occasionally clashes of opinion between him and another member of the staff, whose field was separated from his own by a rather uncertain boundary line, and as they sometimes touched upon the same subject in the same issue, the contradiction between two articles on the same page gave opportunity for some of the "esteemed contemporaries" of the *Herald* to jeer sarcastically at the two vanes which surmounted the *Herald* building, as pointing in opposite directions. Mr. Monroe was very tenacious of his privilege of saying what he thought, and impatient of direction or correction by anybody. So it would not have distressed him greatly if he had caught Holmes, as did one member of the staff, trying to read his manuscript upside down.

Nothing has been said as yet of his political activities, but he was for some years in public life, and all his life he was a politician in the best sense of the word. First a Whig, he became a Republican early in the history of the party, and was particularly proud of one incident in his life when he resided in Dedham, when he acted as conductor of Abraham Lincoln, who had not then attained great national prominence, from Boston to Dedham, where he was to make a speech. But during the Grant administration he became a "Liberal Republican," and a supporter of Greeley in the campaign of 1872; and thereafter he

was a typical Massachusetts independent. Of course he was a "mugwump," and if, later, he might have called himself a Republican, he was one who usually voted against the candidates of the party. All that does not mean a career of political inconsistency and indecision, but a condition of impatience with the conduct of all parties, and an independence of mind that led him to support that party which, for the moment, seemed to him less deserving of defeat than the other. He accepted an election to the state senate of 1870 at the hands of his Roxbury Republican neighbors, but was not a good party man even in the legislature, and was as frequently found kicking over the traces as walking quietly in harness. Afterward, when the independents of the state were in full revolt against the Republican administration, he became the opposition candidate for Secretary of State, but of course was not elected.

With all his political acumen he was singularly guileless, not to say credulous, when shrewd politicians in whom he had confidence undertook to use him for their purposes. One example — for which I have the authority of the chief of the intrigue — will illustrate his amiable weakness. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, when Boston was politically divided more evenly than it is now, one party or the other, sometimes both, resorted to the transparent device of a "citizens' ticket" for a municipal election, to draw support from the opposing party. The manager of the "citizens" campaign for a certain Democratic candidate for mayor, himself a Democrat of the straitest sect, who confesses that he "hired the hall in which the 'independent citizens' assembled, designated the chairman who was to preside, appointed the committees and ran the convention generally," not only secured the services of Mr. Monroe as presiding officer, but coached him in his duties; and he reports that "he always conformed to my suggestions without ever dreaming that he was a cat's-paw for the wicked Democrats." Four campaigns, in four successive years, resulted in the election of that particular citizens' candidate. The bolters never asked nor received any reward for their help. "The proud consciousness of having beaten their own side was sufficient compensation for them."

Personally Mr. Monroe was kindly, suave and dignified, and

helpful to his younger associates. He had few intimates, but a host of men regarded him as a friend. The most of his leisure he passed at his own fireside, for he belonged to no clubs and attended few public functions. He was very methodical in his working habits, always arriving at the office at the same hour, and having turned off his daily production of about two columns of the *Herald*, he left the office and returned to his home, which was in Brookline during his later years.

He had two passions outside the work which gave him his livelihood. He was an omnivorous reader. He was particularly devoted to fiction, and read almost every new novel as it appeared. But he also devoured everything in the shape of political history and political and social discussion. If he had not been a leader writer on public questions he would have been a most competent reviewer of current literature.

His diversion was baseball. For many years he was a constant — it would be nearer the truth to say a regular — attendant at every game of professional baseball in Boston. He had his own reserved seat in the grand stand, marked with his name. He knew the capacity and achievements of every prominent player, local or visiting, as he knew the character and ability of the statesmen whom he criticised as a writer.

Mr. Monroe married Alice M., daughter of Dr. William Ingalls, of Boston, October 25, 1853. He was therefore within ten days of reaching the fiftieth anniversary of his wedding at the time of his death. His widow and all five of their children — four sons and a daughter — still survive at the time of this writing, September, 1916.

He was chosen a member of this Society at the April meeting in 1898, and although, during the five years of his membership, he was usually present at the monthly meetings, he did not contribute any paper to our proceedings, and served upon no committees. He was, indeed, in no sense a historian; but the mass of material, the product of his pen, which now forms a part of our collections, will be history for coming generations. In effect it is a complete political diary of the second half of the nineteenth century.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Recording Secretary, in the absence of the Cabinet-Keeper, reported the following gifts:

From the estate of Mrs. Mary Seamans, of Oxford, Mass., through Miss A. L. Joslin, a series of eight heavy gold medals engraved about 1897 by Francis F. Stockwell, a brother of Mrs. Seamans, and formerly of Boston. They represent "Old Ironsides," the State House, Boston, Washington Elm, Cambridge, the "Old Ship," Hingham, Cradock House, Medford, Old Powder House, Somerville, Wayside Inn, Sudbury, and Ethan Allen and Ticonderoga. With these are engravings of the Presidents, a photograph of Mr. Stockwell, three engraved plates, and wood from the Hancock House, 1868, the Bradley House associated with the Boston Tea Party, Faneuil Hall, Old Hancock Tavern, Old South Meeting House, the Paul Revere House, and the frigate *Constitution*.

From Frank W. Sprague, two photographs of the birthplace of Chief-Justice Lemuel Shaw, at West Barnstable, a photograph of the Howe place, and one of the Dimmock-Percival House at Barnstable, Mass.

From Mr. Norcross, a specimen of the new dime.

By purchase, a photograph of the ruins of the great fire in Boston, November 9 and 10, 1872, taken by David Woodbury Butterfield from the Soldiers' Home, Fort Hill, Boston.

The Corresponding Secretary read a letter from the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, New Bedford, inviting historical Societies to its meeting to be held on the 23d instant, and reported that the Council had instructed him to ask Mr. Crapo to represent the Society on that occasion.

The Editor read the following letter:

Fisher Ave., Brookline,
7 November, 1916.

To the President and Members of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

The late Frederick Lewis Gay, in his "note" to his privately printed *Rough List of a Collection of Transcripts relating to the History of New England*, 1630–1776, said, that "sooner or later they (i. e. the fifty-six volumes covered by this *List*) will be given to a library where they can be more freely used by a wider circle of students." Although Mr. Gay died on 3 March, 1916, without leaving a will, his widow and brothers decided that his wishes, as expressed above, can best be carried out by presenting the fifty-six volumes comprising the collection as listed, and three additional volumes of transcripts of Admiral Graves papers, acquired subsequent to the publication of the *Rough List*, to the Massachusetts Historical Society of Boston, Mass., on these terms:

1. The collection to be known as the "Gay Collection of Historical Transcripts relating to New England, 1630–1776."

2. The said collection to be carefully preserved by the Society, and the freest possible use of it, consistent with its safety, be given to all historical students of serious intent. Very truly yours,

Josephine S. Gay,
Ellen F. Gay,
Ernest L. Gay.[1]

This generous and important gift greatly strengthens our collections of American material from English sources, and will stand as a lasting memorial of the life interests of one of its members. The conditions of gift assure the best results from the use by students of the colonial and provincial history of Massachusetts. The titles of these volumes are as follows:

State Papers, 13 vols.
Plymouth Papers, 2 vols.
Temple Papers, 2 vols.
Sedgwick Papers, 1 vol.
Hugh Peter, 4 vols.
Letters to R. Baxter, 1 vol.
Phips Papers, 7 vols.

[1] Since the death of Frederick L. Gay, his brothers have both passed away; Warren Fisher Gay died August 26, and Ernest Lewis Gay, November 25, 1916.

Knepp Journal, 1 vol.
Kidd Papers, 2 vols.
Letters to Royal Society, 1 vol.
Miscellaneous Papers, 3 vols.
Acadia Papers, 1 vol.
Nova Scotia Papers, 6 vols.
Mascarene Papers, 5 vols.
Andrew Oliver Letter Book, 2 vols.
Peter Oliver, "American Revolution," 1 vol.
Elisha Hutchinson Letter Book, 1 vol.
Letters of Hutchinson to Hardwicke, 1 vol.
Hutchinson Papers, 2 vols.
Admiral Graves' Conduct in America, 3 vols.

By purchase, Pepperrell papers, 1694–1766, and a letter book of John Rindge, 1728–1731.

Mr. BOWDITCH presented a leaflet giving five hundred and seventy-two different ways of spelling the name of Bowditch, as met in manuscript records.

Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. SCHOULER read a paper on

THE WHIG PARTY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The Whig party in American politics was a glorious birth, and especially glorious in Massachusetts, where it found a loyal constituency to the last. To scions of the older families it recalled the proud days of Federalism and Alexander Hamilton, when New England was fairly dominant in the national councils; but the Whigs were far more advanced in ideas of popular self-government than ever the Federalists as a party had been. Men high born or low born were heartily welcome into the Whig ranks. Its two foremost national leaders and organizers, Clay and Webster, were both commoners by origin, and each in rivalry was idolized by the voters. Whigs aristocratic at heart fraternized with plebeians at the polls: the rich made friends with the poor; academicians and men of culture in the learned professions, who were especially drawn to this party, consorted with the self-educated; broad-minded merchants, with the shopkeepers; manufacturers, with those whom

they employed. Farmers and tillers of the soil were persuaded to join wherever possible; mechanics, too, and the hardy sons of manual toil; but these last, and the humble immigrant, lately from abroad, could not be so easily won over.

In such a combination for politics, where virtue and intelligence were strongly reënforced and respectability permeated the mass, able but self-constrained citizens of social standing took cheerfully the lesser posts of public service and promoted to the highest honors him who might best gain over the voters, whether because of plain and simple manners and origin, or as some military hero of contemporary lustre. During an election campaign men whose political tenets were not compared closely marched together, and sad mistakes were made in consequence; but, though often vague and temporizing as to immediate issues, the love of country and of this broad Union was always paramount in the career of this famous party. All were highly susceptible to appeals for patriotism and an American fraternal spirit; and arm in arm, in serried ranks, our Whigs kept steady step to the music of the Union. On that all inspiring theme this country never had orators to compare with their two chief Presidential aspirants; while of other eloquent leaders of the party Massachusetts could boast an Everett, a Choate and a Winthrop.

And, once again, despite its addiction to half measures, or perhaps because of it, the Whig party, whether in national, State or local affairs, furnished able, fair-minded and honest administrators far above the average of office-holders. Even in those earlier days when the patronage was held a perquisite and prize for contending parties, it stood in the main for good government and for pure and unselfish devotion to the common welfare.

In another and broader connection I have sought to set forth the strange vicissitudes, the fortunes and the misfortunes which befell our American Whigs as a national party. My object rather, in the present paper, is to trace out the progress of that party, its rise and its fall, here in Massachusetts.

By 1840, the first year of its national triumph, the Whig party had well established itself in this commonwealth. In the United States Senate it was ably represented by Daniel Webster and John Davis. Its House delegation was largely of

the same political complexion, John Quincy Adams, the most eminent among them, notwithstanding his bold and eccentric course on the floor of discussion, regarding himself as a regular party Whig. In Massachusetts, however, one of those political overturns had just taken place to which this State is always liable, with its annual elections of executive and legislature; and January opened with Marcus Morton, a conservative Democrat, earlier in politics but of late a judge on the State Supreme bench, duly installed as Governor. He had won at the polls over his Whig competitor by the singular majority of one. For Edward Everett, as it appears, who had occupied the executive chair with dignity for four successive years, lost largely with the voters in 1839 through the passage by the Whig legislature of a liquor law which seemed to discriminate in favor of the socially elect.

Nothing daunted, however, by their temporary State reverse, the Whigs of Massachusetts entered heartily and unitedly into that enthusiastic Presidential campaign of 1840 which swept the whole area of this Union and bore "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler too" into the citadel of national authority — a barren victory, as it sadly proved for the national Whigs, in course of another year. In Massachusetts "honest John Davis," as he was called, was summoned from Washington and put up by the Whigs for Governor, an office he had held before. He was chosen, this November, by about 16,000 over Morton, and the Harrison electoral ticket won by 20,000.

Two incidents of especial interest to Bostonians marked the summer of this Presidential leap year. The new customhouse here was finished, and on the 4th of July, with the gates thrown open, revealed its granite glories.[1] During the same month of July the first of the new Cunard line of British steamers arrived at East Boston, and that joyful event was signalized by a Boston banquet, at which Cunard was made the guest of honor and Webster made a welcoming speech.

Early in 1841 Daniel Webster resigned his seat in the United States Senate, to become Secretary of State under the Harrison administration, and Rufus Choate was chosen by the Massachusetts legislature to succeed him.

[1] George Bancroft, the historian, was at this time collector of the port of Boston under President Van Buren's appointment.

Of Whig newspapers in Massachusetts, and indeed throughout New England, the *Boston Atlas* led and fairly maintained the lead, in fervency of spirit, while the Whig party and its own life lasted. Its Democratic rival, with whom it sparred constantly, was the *Boston Post*, which Charles Gordon Greene conducted ably and courteously far into another era. While the *Post* tried to fasten upon the Whigs the stigma of "Hartford Convention Federalists," the *Atlas* urged the Whigs, but in vain, to adopt in their hour of national triumph the name of "Jefferson Democrats" as against the "Toryism" of the Van Buren Loco-Focos. Richard Haughton retired from the *Atlas* in May, 1841, and died soon after; but other editors who succeeded him in turn kept up the lead of this paper as New England's chief Whig organ.

The death of Harrison, when he had been President scarcely a month, was followed by the accession of the Vice-President, John Tyler, whose breach with Henry Clay and the Whig Congress at the extra session called at Washington in March led, as we know, to a dramatic dissolution of the Harrison cabinet, so far as Clay's friends were concerned. This caused the Massachusetts Whigs perplexity and dismay, for Daniel Webster remained in that administration as Secretary of State; and in letters which he published in the Boston press in September he defended on general grounds his course in remaining, and upheld the President. Union and harmony in the whole party was the loyal watchword here for the fall elections of 1841, despite a discouraging outlook; and the Massachusetts Whigs again won at the polls. John Davis was reëlected Governor, with a Whig Senate and House to sustain him and an ample popular majority.

But during 1842, as John Tyler's recreancy and selfishness became more clearly manifest, the party dissatisfaction in Massachusetts grew and showed itself. Clearly enough, the Whigs of the Union had combined on Harrison in 1840 without a distinct and harmonious policy on all points. Though disagreement had developed in Washington on reviving a National Bank, with its stable and uniform paper currency, there remained a chance for Clay's American system in other respects. Whigs were for public land distribution and for protection to American industries; but by this time President Tyler had by

his vetoes defeated both of these measures of policy as well. The hearts of all national Whigs beat warmly for Clay, who now retired from the forum of strife, baffled and disappointed, yet reserving himself for the next Presidential campaign of 1844. No other leader could now be thought of by the party. At the Whig State convention, held in September, 1843, at Faneuil Hall, Abbott Lawrence presiding, Henry Clay was boldly announced for next President, with John Davis, now Governor of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. It was a challenge to Daniel Webster to leave the Tyler cabinet at once and stand with his own party where he belonged.

This demonstration roused Webster's wrath. He had hoped to keep his foremost rival back and at all events to secure the support of Massachusetts Whigs for himself. On September 30 he met his fellow citizens at Faneuil Hall and declared himself opposed to all such anticipations of 1844. He denounced the Whig State convention for its action and for its summary abandonment of the present administration. As for himself, he announced, "I am hard to coax and harder to be driven." "Where are you going to place me?" he asked defiantly of his fellow Whigs.

Among Whig organs was the *Boston Advertiser*, conservative and judicious, then and long a favorite with bankers, large merchants, lawyers and Harvard college. This paper was trustworthy in its news, but dubious and dilatory in its editorials, where sides were to be taken. In its columns Webster's angry speech was fully reported, but a full week expired before editorial comments were made upon it. On October 8, however, its stand was announced. This journal did not wish to excite ill feeling; but, while Massachusetts Whigs were still willing that Webster should remain in Tyler's cabinet for conducting his official business, they were far from commending the President or wishing a third political party created. And on October 13 the *Advertiser* joined earlier party organs of the State in placing Clay and Davis in nomination for 1844 at the head of its editorial page.

But now and as long as he lived Webster had Massachusetts presses and fellow citizens who sustained him without faltering, through evil or good report. The November election in the State was a close one that fall, with the Whigs thus divided in

sentiment. Election by plurality did not prevail in Massachusetts until 1855. No one had a majority of the voters, and in consequence the election went to a new legislature, closely divided, which in January made the Democratic Marcus Morton Governor for 1843, as against John Davis. But, as before, Morton's executive career proved for one year only. Various incidents helped Whigs to reunite in the State before another fall. The 17th of June saw Webster the orator when the Bunker Hill monument was completed. President Tyler with his suite attended the exercises and Boston received him coldly but politely. Webster soon after retired from Tyler's cabinet, reinstating himself with Clay and his fellow Whigs, who welcomed him back again.

George N. Briggs of Pittsfield was now drafted from the Whig delegation in the national House as the party candidate for next Governor, with John Reed for Lieutenant-Governor. Webster and his friends gave adhesion to that ticket, and by a large majority in 1843 a Whig legislature was chosen, which assured the success of those candidates, at this first contest. Briggs came out at the polls with only a plurality, and hence another legislative resort in January, 1844. But from this time forward, and for the next seven years, the Briggs and Reed combination held Massachusetts more and more closely in the popular esteem and affection.

Briggs was a person of plain and simple manners, with a kind and affectionate heart, and yet a becoming dignity of bearing. He had good sense, a harmonizing disposition, and was honest as the day, temperate and sincere. Men of the highest social importance here in Massachusetts were content to serve under him in legislature, civil office or town and local magistracy. The voters of the State, moreover, were well satisfied with such a chief ruler. In person he was of good height, with a calm blue eye, a healthy complexion and a well-knit figure. His peculiarity of dress consisted in wearing a stock or large cravat of the day without any collar peering above it.

Not since the days of New England Federalism has any governor held office in Massachusetts for seven years other than George N. Briggs; and his continuous service would have been longer still except for new causes of national dissension which he had not promoted. The Whig party of the State,

while it lasted, had indeed a happy faculty for keeping loyally in the lead men who had done deserving service to the public under its auspices. Rufus Choate, after the Presidential election of 1844, refused a reëlection to the Senate, desiring only professional rewards for himself, and Daniel Webster, by the general party assent, went back to reoccupy the seat he had vacated at Washington on entering the Harrison cabinet; and, when he resigned it once more, to become the premier of President Fillmore's fortuitous administration, the Massachusetts legislature chose Congressman Robert C. Winthrop in his place, as one who already had risen from State to national renown, serving in the House at Washington as Speaker, and Whig Speaker of the Massachusetts House years before. John Davis, too, though now a defeated Whig Governor, was restored to the Senate as Webster's colleague once more, when death made there another vacancy. Finally Edward Everett, back to Massachusetts from England as Whig minister, to become in 1845 President of Harvard as the veteran Quincy's successor, was by 1853 sent to the Senate to serve there for a brief and turbulent space, preceding a new era in our national politics.

Governor Morton's legislature had concerned itself in reducing the salaries of judges; but Briggs, in his first inaugural message, took the ground that the true way of reducing State expenses was rather to shorten the sessions of the legislature. That body had of late years sat usually from early January to some date in March, and for 1844 the session was ended in seventy-four days, which improved by about a week upon the record of the year preceding. That was the Presidential year, and President Tyler projected his Texas annexation scheme into the national canvass, in season to disconcert the Whig leaders, forcing the Democrats to substitute Polk for Van Buren as the candidate of that party. Clay's leadership of the Whigs, however, had proved irresistible, and at the early Whig convention in Baltimore he was nominated for the Presidency by a long, loud and unanimous "aye." Frelinghuysen was added to the ticket for Vice-President.

How Clay lost the election through the defection of anti-slavery men caused by his equivocal letters on the Texas annexation issue is well known. The long canvass for the popular vote was a close one. New York State, it was perceived, would

turn the scales; and there a Liberty party, with Birney, so divided the Whigs that Polk and the Democrats won. No such division, however, obstructed the Whigs of Massachusetts. So unitedly did they stand by Clay that their electoral ticket won at the polls, even after it had become known that their candidate had already lost New York and hence the Presidency. For the election took place on a day of November earlier in New York than in Massachusetts. No such example of political loyalty in disaster could ever occur again in this country; for, before another Presidential contest, Congress passed an act prescribing a fixed and uniform Tuesday in November for all Presidential elections throughout the Union.

Webster, who at Washington had been gently forced out of the State Department and Tyler's administration in season for the Texas intrigue of Virginians to be worked out, was in private life once more as a Boston lawyer when Clay was nominated for President. He ably supported the Whig cause and candidate, and his reinstatement with the party was heartily welcomed. Yet it was observable that, in his campaign speeches of 1844, he chiefly dwelt upon party principles and policy, and betrayed a suppressed jealousy of his favored rival, at whose final defeat he did not grieve greatly. To 1848 and its convention he looked forward hopefully for himself. Meanwhile, as I have said, he was returned in 1845 to his former seat in the United States Senate, his generous friend and fellow citizen, Rufus Choate, making way for him.

The Briggs and Reed regime held its serene course uninterrupted until the eventful year 1850, setting to Massachusetts citizens a high example of dignified and honorable administration. Effort was made, but in vain, during 1845 to introduce a new element of discord into State politics: that of Native-Americanism as against the immigrant from abroad. Such demonstration was chiefly directed against the Irish Roman-Catholics, who swarmed in all our great Atlantic cities of the North, where they gained much influence, swelling usually the Democratic party vote. In April, 1844, a Native-American ticket for honest reform won in New York City at the polls and James Harper was chosen mayor. In Philadelphia a similar movement met with much encouragement. Hence, closely following the Presidential election, which had turned

out so disastrously for the Whigs in a national sense, an earnest attempt was made to enlist the Whig city of Boston in the new cause. A three-cornered fight started here in December for the mayoralty. Martin Brimmer, the year's incumbent, declining to run again, the Whigs put up Josiah Quincy, Jr., who had been prominent in the legislature during recent years. Against him the Democrats named their candidate, and Native-Americans united upon one Thomas A. Davis. A secession from the Whigs ensued, following the example set by New York and Philadelphia. No choice was the result, no candidate gaining a majority at the polls, though Quincy figured a plurality. A second trial followed, Quincy declining to run again, and Davis made gains. At a third trial, in the same month, Davis gained still further, but still there was no choice. At a fourth trial, in early January, 1845, no one was elected mayor; but for the first time aldermen sufficient in number were chosen to make a quorum for business. At a fifth trial, February 12, Davis led the candidates strongly, but was still short of a majority. But at last, February 21, Davis was chosen Boston's mayor by the wearied voters, receiving a majority of 174, and the protracted struggle came to an end.

The Native-Americans now held a jubilee meeting at Faneuil hall, February 22, in honor of their municipal victory. But Governor Briggs declined pointedly an invitation to attend it. Another celebration was held on Bunker Hill day, June 17. Attempts next followed to make a State organization of Native-Americans in season for the autumn election; but the Whigs of Massachusetts showed themselves strong and united to prevent any such organization from becoming formidable. They took the ground that they themselves were well enough disposed to have Congress amend the naturalization laws, but otherwise felt no interest in the new movement. Native-Americanism quickly faded out from Massachusetts politics as a definite issue; our own cities were well enough governed by the Whigs in power, despite all foreign importation; and in Boston Davis himself resigned his office before the year 1845 was out and disappeared from the public gaze. No anti-foreign movement got foothold again in State or nation until the Whig party was in its grave.

Even in Boston, where the board of aldermen had wrangled

for weeks over the choice of a successor to Davis for the vacant mayoralty, Josiah Quincy, Jr., again brought forward as the Whig candidate, won in December, 1845, over his Democratic and Native-American opponents combined by a decisive majority. A new water supply for the city was now a topic of great local interest and to securing it Quincy devoted himself for the next three years.

To the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico which followed, with its iniquitous further spoliation of Mexican soil, the Whigs of Massachusetts were unitedly opposed; and Daniel Webster voiced fairly their remonstrance in his public utterances. For two years, at least, his prospect of becoming the Presidential Whig candidate in 1848 seemed fair, though in truth there never was much chance that the Whigs outside of New England would unite in convention to nominate him. Clay, despite his years and disappointments in the past, touched a deeper chord of popular devotion; and when the new star of General Taylor's popularity rose suddenly on the horizon — as of one whose unflinching courage and patriotism had won at Buena Vista, after his own government had deserted him — it was Clay and not Webster who was sought in the national Whig convention of 1848 to save the party from adopting this military hero for a guide. Webster, though strongly sustained by Massachusetts, stood fourth on every ballot, even Winfield Scott leading him by about three to one. Both Clay and Webster were chagrined at the outcome. Webster openly declared that Taylor's nomination was "not fit to be made," and sulked through the whole campaign.

But Massachusetts Whigs indulged their statesman in his ill humor, and, studying Zachary Taylor for themselves, not only soon became reconciled to his nomination, but grew exultant over it. Party dissatisfaction with the national convention, such as it was, found vent rather in the secession of some strong anti-slavery Whigs of the State, such as Charles Allen and Henry Wilson, who, with party bolters from elsewhere in the North, joined in holding a convention at Buffalo, which put up Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams as an independent free-soil ticket. But that movement in the end really helped the Whigs; for, as against Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate, and another non-committal party platform as to slavery in the newly

acquired territories, Taylor, though himself a Southerner and a slaveholder, was a fair and honorable man, neither aggressive on that issue nor a dissembler. Van Buren had his own personal scores to pay off this year; and, reversing the course of his State, four years before, he served with his antislavery followers to divide the Democratic vote and carry New York for Taylor and Fillmore, the latter candidate, who stood for the Whig Vice-Presidency, having himself a strong home following.

The great Empire State going this time Whig, the national contest was decided. "Conscience Whigs," as the Massachusetts seceders were now called, made no strong impression on their fellow voters in the State at this 1848 election. Nor did the sullen temper of the great Webster, from another point of view, change results. The Briggs and Reed ticket for State executive was well sustained at the polls in November, as usual. Webster's anger was suffered to pass. The favor with which "Old Zach's" candidacy had been received warmed into enthusiasm as his character and record became understood in course of the canvass. Boston, Whig to the core, pronounced strongly by November for "Rough and Ready." Those of us who, as children, witnessed the grand Whig torchlight procession, on a pleasant night not long before election day, can recall the lines of residences on the route, whose front windows, on either side of the crowded street, were illumined with small bottle lamps,[1] burning whale oil, to greet the ranks of shouting marchers, who bore flaming torches and transparencies, while rockets, Roman candles and Bengal lights gave added radiance to the scene.

The highly dramatic incidents which attended President Taylor's brief administration I have already set forth in their national course:[2] the startling discovery of gold in California, a territorial acquisition just wrested from Mexico; its rapid settlement by swarming adventurers from afar, who organized within a few brief months a free State Government and sought equal admission to the Union when Congress came together; the alarm caused at the South by the loss of equipoise between

[1] These bottle lamps were bought originally for illuminating the city on the night of October 25, 1848, following the grand Cochituate water celebration during the day.

[2] Schouler's *United States*, v. ch. ix.

freedom and slavery; and that long session of Congress in which Clay once more appeared, and for the last time, as a Senator seeking, against the President's plan of unconditional admission, to make California's admission conditional upon a mutual compromise between South and North, which might adjust forever all sectional ambitions and alleged grievances. This basis of settlement as between freedom and slavery in the Union became known as the compromise of 1850. To such a basis Webster gave his adhesion in his seventh of March speech; and the sudden and unexpected death of President Taylor in July of that year ensured the passage by Congress of all those compromise measures — a stringent fugitive-slave act being one of the features. For the compromising Millard Fillmore succeeded to the Presidency from Vice-President, with Daniel Webster as his chosen premier and Secretary of State.

Both President and Secretary of State now enforced the mandate of Congress efficiently and bore the odium together. In course of the next three years, despite some local riots and rescues, the demands of slaveholding fellow countrymen were fulfilled, Northern abolitionists and agitators suppressed as far as possible, and all loyal citizens of the land encouraged to regard the sectional pacification of 1850 as a finality.

For fellow Whigs of his own State Webster essayed the task of applying discipline to those who had differed with him. Party presses, lately in his confidence, which had repudiated his seventh of March speech — foremost among them the *Boston Atlas*, conducted, since May, 1847, by William Schouler — he punished, upon coming into the cabinet, by taking away the government patronage.[1] But his manifest antagonism only made matters worse for himself and his supporters, by forcing dissensions which were never healed. At the November election of 1850 in Massachusetts, Briggs, the beloved, went down in defeat before a coalition of Democrats and Free Soilers which made George S. Boutwell Governor for two successive years. The coalition legislature of 1851 chose Charles Sumner for a

[1] The Thomas Corwin MSS. (unpublished), in the Library of Congress, contain a private letter from Daniel Webster, dated at Boston, November 13, 1850, which comments bitterly upon local Whig papers which had dissented from him, and requests his colleague in the cabinet to withdraw altogether the patronage of his department from the *Boston Atlas*, as the chief offender. Corwin was Secretary of the Treasury in Fillmore's administration.

full term to the seat in the Senate at Washington left vacant by Webster, and a statesman of a far different mould entered into public life, as Webster himself had done, in the service of the United States. Furthermore in 1852 the Coalitionists called a State constitutional convention, with the intent of changing radically the ancient document of Massachusetts both in text and in spirit.

The Presidential contest of 1852 approached. For Daniel Webster, now at threescore and ten, it was a last opportunity, most likely, for the ambitious preferment he had so long craved at heart. The South, at least, owed him gratitude. At the North, however, party Whigs were greatly divided. Some earnestly upheld fraternal sentiment throughout the Union, on the basis of the 1850 compromise to which both Whigs and Democrats announced adhesion; but the Whig majority, while accepting such measures for all they were worth, quite indisposed to raise an issue concerning them at present, doubted whether this pact of peace would endure, and awaited the future. In Massachusetts were constituents who worshipped Webster and worked for his advancement at all times and under all circumstances; but others felt that he had broken faith, and hence would not aid his candidacy that year. Both Democratic and Whig national conventions met at Baltimore in June. The Democrats, after balloting more than fifty times, nominated Franklin Pierce for President, as one of modest worth who had no enemies; and their platform pledged resistance to all agitation thenceforth of the slavery question, with an unqualified acceptance of the 1850 settlement, its fugitive-slave act included.

But in the Whig convention which followed, over fifty ballots were cast under far different conditions of rivalry. Clay on his death bed — for he died shortly after — had seasonably announced his preference for Fillmore as candidate of the compromisers; and the President himself was not inclined to yield delicately to his older and far more distinguished subordinate. Against them both such Whig delegates as were not disposed to regard the compromise measures too sacred to be ever modified supported Winfield Scott — a military hero, indeed, and yet Scott had been a Whig convention candidate before, and, as I have already stated, led Webster largely in 1848. Fillmore had 133 votes, Scott 131 and Webster 29 on the first ballot;

and thus it continued, with but little change, until on the fifty-third ballot Scott drew from each of his two competitors, neither of whom had yielded to the other, and by 26 majority won the nomination.

This unhappy frustration of his cherished hopes was to Webster a death blow. He had long been failing in health by reason of years and the cares of office. To Southern delegates returning from the convention he made plain his grievous disappointment, and the President he had served he could serve no longer. As Winfield Scott has recorded in his *Memoirs*, Webster conducted himself as one who had been cheated out of a rightful inheritance.[1] He left Washington and went home to Marshfield to die. Spurning Scott still more contemptuously than he had done Taylor, he privately advised his friends to vote the Democratic ticket. His death, which took place shortly before the election, cast a dark pall over a campaign never very promising to the Whigs, whose conscience voters at the North might find ready recourse to a Free Soil list of electors. Under the superb but not wholly discreet warrior whom they had named to lead them, the Whigs in November marched to a Waterloo defeat. Only two States at the North proved faithful — Massachusetts and Vermont; and only two in the South — Kentucky and Tennessee.

Though the Whig city of Boston, whose immediate vicinity felt most keenly the death of Webster, went Democratic at this time, the State at large yearned so earnestly for the return of Whig State administration that John H. Clifford, a Whig, was chosen Governor for the year 1853, another Whig, Emory Washburn, succeeding him for 1854. To offset Sumner in the national Senate, Edward Everett, and afterward Julius Rockwell, succeeded to the other seat left vacant there by the death of John Davis. But by this time the wreck of the Whig party, State or national, was being swallowed up piecemeal in the yeasty waves of a new popular agitation; and after a brief revival of Native-Americanism, as secretly developed in Know-Nothing lodges, Massachusetts surrendered herself to the long-continued protection of the new Republican party; not, however, until our Northern protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 had brought a large element of the

[1] W. Scott's *Memoirs*, 596.

former Whig party into combination with Free Soilers of various antecedents, to leaven a resistance to all further encroachment of slavery upon the national domain. And from 1854 onward American politics took a new and permanent departure on the slavery issue.

We should here note that two great mischiefs were inherent in the compromise of 1850. The first and most clearly and directly obvious was the harsh fugitive slave act. But the second, not revealed at all while Clay and Webster were alive, concerned new Mexican territory outside of California, Texas being already a slave State. It was here enacted — Webster, while in the Senate, distinctly approving — that each new State admitted thereafter from that national acquisition should be slave or free, according as its inhabitants might prefer. No such test therein ever came up; but Douglas, in introducing later his Kansas-Nebraska bill, claimed that this "squatter sovereignty" precedent retroacted upon all national territory elsewhere, to the annulment of that earlier Missouri compromise, which had set off the Kansas-Nebraska territory for freedom absolutely. President Pierce supported him in that claim and signed the act after it had passed Congress. And hence the new national agitation, consuming the parchment compromise of 1850 as a shrivelled scroll; attempted secession and a civil war followed; and in the course of fifteen years from the time Clay's measures became statute law slavery in the whole American Union was forever abolished.

Gideon Welles, in his diary,[1] records a conversation on the Whig party between President Lincoln and Secretary Seward, held in January, 1864, at which he himself was present. Both Lincoln and Seward, he says, considered that Clay and Webster were hard and selfish leaders, whose private personal ambition contributed to the ruin of their party. For years, as they agreed, the Whig party devoted itself to adulation of these two men, instead of adhering to principle. This criticism, though severe, seems not unjust nor inappropriate; and certainly no other two survivors of that great national party were more competent to pronounce a joint opinion on such a subject.

[1] *Diary* I. 507 (January 8, 1864).

Mr. Lord read the following paper on

Some Objections Made to the State Constitution, 1780.

In the preparation of an address, recently delivered before the Massachusetts Bar Association, on the Massachusetts Constitution and the Constitutional Conventions,[1] I found among my papers an interesting communication, signed by a Committee chosen by the town of Middleboro, and addressed to the Selectmen of the town of Plymouth, requesting that the communication be laid before the town at a meeting warned for the purpose, as soon as may be, and expressing their desire that the town should choose a man or men to represent the town at a convention to be held in Plympton on the 25th day of September, 1780, to meet with all the other towns in the county to whom has been sent the same invitation.[2] The purpose of such meeting was to express the opposition of the towns to the new frame of government submitted for the action of the voters by the constitutional convention of 1780, which frame of government the committee assert:

> will introduce (at Least) as Many Evils as Could have Been feared from the British power in Case They had Succeeded in Their first attempts against This Continent; and ought to be Ranked among the greatest Enormities that are Sufferd To Take place among us a wicked people at This Time.

The plan proposed was to refuse to have any town meeting or do anything else in consequence of said frame of government, and the towns were asked "to join you and us with all their might in overthrowing the said constitution or frame of government as a huge monster whose uncouth and unhallowed strides may crush the people to a state of abject slavery, from which deplorable circumstance may the Heavens protect us by directing us in a right way and adding a blessing thereto."

So far as I am advised, this communication from the committee of the town of Middleboro has not been published and is

[1] Printed in the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*, II.

[2] As the whole of this manuscript, including the signatures, is in the same writing, it is probably a contemporary copy of the original, although addressed in proper form to the Selectmen of Plymouth.

an interesting sidelight upon the ratification and adoption of the constitution by the people of Massachusetts in 1780.

The condition of the Province, to whose voters the constitution was submitted, is briefly described by Barry as follows:

> It was at the south that hostilities were principally raging, and the battlegrounds of this period must be sought in that country. That the times were gloomy no one can doubt. Throughout the country the sufferings of the people were almost incredible. The life blood of the people had been poured out like water. There were desolate homes in every town; family ties had been broken and sundered. The old had grown gray in military service and the young had shot up to a premature manhood. Cities and dwellings were falling to decay, and the half-tilled soil covered with weeds, and the ruined fences, which scarcely kept out starving cattle, told of the hardships the yeomanry had endured.[1]

The population of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, as I compute it from the statistics and methods of computation furnished and adopted by Chickering and Felt, was substantially 378,000, and the number of polls was 75,000. The census of 1784 gives the number of polls in Massachusetts Bay as 90,757. If we assume the number of qualified voters in 1780 to be 60,000, as a conservative estimate, not more than one in five of the voters expressed their opinion on the question of the adoption of this first constitution, although the necessity for the adoption of some form of government was as imperious as it was apparent. In that year, according to Alden Bradford,[2] the valuation of Massachusetts was but $11,000,000, while its nominal debt was $200,000,000. If we adopt the calculation of the depreciation as 40 to 1, then the actual debt was $5,000,000. It has been stated that the valuation of $11,000,000 is supposed to be too small and that it should have been double that amount. Assuming these conservative figures — the valuation to be $22,000,000 and the debt $5,000,000 — the condition of the Province can be easily imagined when compared with the valuation and debt of to-day. The total net, direct, contingent and funded debt of Massachusetts on December 1, 1915, was $86,042,692.01, while the valuation of the Commonwealth for 1915, as determined by the Tax Commissioner, was

[1] Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, III. 165.

[2] See *History of Massachusetts*, II. 189; ed. of 1835, page 295.

$4,997,939,070, which comparison indicates in a striking way the poverty and burden of the people of Massachusetts in 1780.

The method adopted by resolution of the convention of March 2, 1780, for the presentation of the new constitution to the people for their action was:

> that this convention be adjourned to the first Wednesday in June next, to meet at Boston, and that 1800 copies of the form of government which shall be agreed upon be printed and, including such as shall be ordered to each member of the convention, be sent to the selectmen of each town and the committees of each plantation, under the direction of a committee to be appointed for the purpose: and that they be requested as soon as may be to lay them before the inhabitants of their respective towns and plantations.

The action of the towns it was desired should be transmitted to the secretary of the convention on the first Wednesday of June, or it may be on the last Wednesday in May. The constitution was not to take effect unless two-thirds of the male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, voting in the several town and plantation meetings, shall agree to the same. Or the convention shall conform it to the sentiments of two-thirds of the people as aforesaid.[1]

On the 7th of June, 1780, the convention met according to adjournment for the examination of the returns from the several towns and plantations. There was a period, then, of less than three months from the date of the vote for the distribution of the 1800 copies of the new constitution to the date of the meetings of the several towns, to vote upon the ratification and adoption of such constitution. When we consider that these 1800 copies were all that were available for all the voters in the Province, from the hills of Berkshire to the settlements on the banks of the distant Kennebec, entitled to vote upon the adoption of the constitution, and that the number of towns and plantations, according to the Journal of the Convention, was 294, of which 238 were in Massachusetts and 56 in Maine, it is evident that there was ground for the complaint that these copies were quite inadequate fully to inform the people as to the provisions of the proposed constitution. The Committee in this letter stated the principle objection to the adoption of the constitution as follows:

[1] *Journal of the Convention.*

why the Convention Did Not allow the people Time to Comply with the Sense of their Address is Truly astonishing; when the Circumstance of the State Did not Require so great haste in that matter they Could Not But Know that from the Time the printed Copies were Sent to the Towns and they have Their Meetings To the Time of Making Returns was insufficient for Even one Quarter of the people to understand it, by help of so few Copies as Could be got.

So far as I can learn through an examination of the files of newspapers in the possession of the Society, for the period from March 2, 1780, to June 7, 1780, there was no complete publication of the proposed constitution in the newspapers. The discussion of the constitution in the press at that time related mainly to the Third Article in the Declaration of Rights, which provides for religious instruction and the support of public worship. This article was particularly opposed and was the subject of numerous communications published in the papers.[1] So that the only method in which the people could be advised as to the nature of the elaborate constitution submitted for their adoption was through these 1800 copies which were to be sent under the direction of a committee to the selectmen of each town and the committees of each plantation.

The method adopted in Plymouth, and probably in other towns, as that was the most practical method for informing the voter of the provisions of the proposed constitution, was to read the constitution in a town meeting, called for the purpose, and then refer it to a committee, to report upon the expediency of the town accepting the same at some adjourned meeting, at which meeting the vote was taken, and later returned to the convention, which was to examine and report upon the votes for and against the adoption of the constitution.

I find no evidence as to what the action of the town of Plymouth was in response to this communication, and it is a curious fact that the page in the record book upon which would have been written the action of a meeting, if any meeting had been held and its action recorded, is left entirely blank. Of the five members of the committee who signed the address one was a member of the convention which framed the constitution of 1780. The original address I now present to the Society.

[1] Barry, *History of Massachusetts*, III. 178.

All people Being Calld upon and urged from Every Rational and Serious motive, at all Times and under all Circumstances (in Sum prudent way) To oppose Suppress, and for-Ever To avoid Every unrighteous and hurtfull Thing in its first appearance in Colour and Shape to Dwell among us.

Wherefore The Town of Middleborough at a meeting legally warned for The purpose of Consulting Measures proper to be Taken at this Time against the Late frame of government (said To be Excepted etc) proceeded To Chuse a Committee of Five Men To Conduct The whole affair in Behalf of said Town, Concerning said frame of government. Said Committee Being very Sensible of the general Sentiments of the people in said Town Relative to said frame of government (so far as they understood it) Venter to assert as Their Opinion; That it will introduce (at Least) as Many Evils as Could have Been feared from the British power in Case They had Succeeded in Their first attempts against This Continent; and ought to be Ranked among the greatest Enormities that are Sufferd To Take place among us a wicked people at This Time. it may be Expected That we Now proceed To State our objections against said frame of government: our only Reason for Not Doing of it here is This: That our objections are so many as would fill a Letter To an unbecuming Length. But we hold our Selves in Readyness to State our Objections against said frame of government and give our Reasons therefor (if Required of us) at a Convention for that purpose or in any other Reasonable way. But the grand Question here will be this — Why is Middleborough so Turbulent as not to submit peaceably To a frame of government so fairly agreed upon by Two Thirds of the people; and that has been Carried on Every way according to the plan upon which the people consented it Should be done.

Our answer To this we shall Make the Foundation upon which we Expect to stand Justified in the minds of Every Judicious and unprejudiced mind; in attempting at this Time to prevent the Takeing place of the said frame of government among us: which is as follows That the said frame of government is fairly agreed upon by Two thirds of The people or inhabitants of this State we Deny and say it is not so; when more than three Quarters of the Voters in This State have Never acted or Voted on the Same at all; as appeared by the Returns from the severall Towns at Convention. it may be said it was their own fault in not Voting, This we Deny also and say That a great part of the people Can be fairly Justified in not acting or voting in a Business of so great importance in which it was impossible they should understand (so as to act with Judgment) in the few Days Time allowed them to Do it in, which was undoubtedly the

Reason why so few acted in a matter That so greatly Concernd all: The Convention addressed the people Concerning a Civil Constitution in the following Just and agreeable way Saying: we now Submit it To your Candid Consideration: it is your interest to Revise it with the greatest Care and Circumspection: and it is your undoubted Right, Either to propose such alteration and amendments as you shall Judge proper: or To give it your own Sanction in its present form: or Totally to Reject it: But why the Convention Did Not allow the people Time to Comply with the Sense of their Address is Truly astonishing; when the Circumstance of the State Did not Require so great haste in that matter they Could Not But Know that from the Time the printed Copies were sent to the Towns and they have Their Meetings To the Time of Making Returns was insufficient for Even one Quarter of the people to understand it, by help of so few Copies as Could be got: and further to prove the Confusion of the people in the matter for want of Time to understand it Some of those Towns that made Returns: they were Such as no man Could Certainly Determine what they would have; and must have Been guesst att in order to settleing a frame of government at this Time had there Not Been wisdom sufficient in Convention to solve great Doubts in Times of Extremity. But a frame of government must go on and nothing Could impede its march when pushd and Drawd by such Violent force; for the Reasons above mentioned with many others we do appear in a publick way against the said Constitution or frame of government and wish that your Sentiments may Coincide with ours on the premises which will be to use your uttmost influence on your Neighbouring Towns To Join you and us with all Their Might in overthrowing the said Constitution or frame of government as a huge monster whose uncouth and unhallowed Strides may Crush the people to a State of abject Slavery, from which Deplorable Circumstance May the heavens protect us, by Directing us in a right way, and adding a Blessing thereto; the only practicable way to obtain our purpose above that we Can think of at present is intirely To Refuse To have any Town Meeting or do any thing else in Consequence of said frame of government, and are Ready to proceed in that way, or any other way that shall appear to be more Expedient, which you and other Towns joining with us shall agree upon. In Case you shall agree To Join with us in measures above proposed, we Desire you to Chuse a man or Men to Represent your Town at a Convention to be held at the wido. Lorings in plimptown on twenty fifth Day of September Next at Ten O'Clock in the morning to meet us with all the other Towns in this County who have just the same invitation as you have. Said Middleborough after great Care and pains to understand the frame of government

so as to make a proper return to Convention, were about a hundred against it to one for it: yet there Remained a Number that would not act or Vote for or against it, for no Other Reason But Because they Could not possibly know what it was to their Sattisfaction. After all which the said Town of Middleborough would be Considered as Earnestly wishing for a new Constitution or frame of government the Best that can be made and think themselves happy in joining their Best Efforts with yours to this Day against an implacable Enemy with so great Encouragement of Success.

All which is humbly offered from those who are yours and the publicks Devoted friends and humble Servants in the Common Cause.

MIDDLEBOROUGH, August 21st, 1780.

Signed By Direction and in Behalf of Said Town —

JOHN MILLER [1]
BENJAMON THOMAS [2]
ICHABOD WOOD
BATCHELTER BENNETT
ZEBEDEE SPROAT [3]
} *Committee for said Town*

To the Select Men of the Town of Plymouth: Gentlemen: it is Desired that the above be Laid Before your Town at a meeting warned for that purpose as Soon as may be.

To the Select Men of the Town of Plymouth, with Care.

Mr. THAYER read the following paper on

THE MARINE HOSPITALS OF NEW ENGLAND IN 1817.

I hope to present at a future meeting some biographical notice of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, whose permanent title to remembrance was his introduction of vaccination into the United States. His salient personality, as well as his connection with interests of many kinds, would, if adequately portrayed, keep him alive. He was born of English parents in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1754 and went to England in 1775 to study

[1] John Miller was, in 1784, captain of the Sixth Company of the militia of Middleboro, and a member of the convention from that town.

[2] On Benjamin Thomas, see Weston, *History of Middleboro*, 329. He was a member of the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution.

[3] See Weston, 432, where is reproduced a contemporary broadside on Sproat's maltreatment of his wife, Hannah Sproat.

medicine. There he had the advantage of being with a kinsman, Dr. John Fothergill, one of the foremost English physicians of the time, and after walking the hospitals of Edinburgh and London, he crossed to Leyden, where he graduated M.D. in 1780.

Returning to America he, with Drs. Warren and Dexter, founded the Harvard Medical School in 1783, and he served it as professor of the theory and practice of physic until 1812. He seems to have founded also the Botanic Garden and the Mineralogical Cabinet at Harvard. For several years he was head physician at the Boston Marine Hospital and after the War of 1812 he again received an appointment under the national government. In the autumn of 1817, being ordered to inspect the hospitals on the New England coast from Castine to New London, he visited them all and made the following reports, which I take from his letter-book. This, with other important material of his, is now in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. W. R. Thayer.

CAMBRIDGE. [November, 1817.]

Having received the orders of Brigadier General Miller[1] to examine rigidly all the hospitals at the several posts in this the 2d Department of the Northern Division, I proceeded on this duty on the 29th of October to Newbury Port, where I was joined by Mr. Allanson[2] the General's aid, and on the 30th was joined by General Miller and Col. Fenwick,[3] when we all together proceeded to the bay of Penobscott and from thence to Castine which is situated at the head of this magnificent bay.

This far famed spot naturally called forth all our attention. General, Engineer and Physician have viewed with the scrutinizing eyes of each profession, and it seems as if it were left to the pen of the latter to give the result.

About 140 years ago a French Colonel, by the name of Castine, son-in-law [of] a Penobscot chief, made this spot the head quarters of his excursions against the English. This French gentleman married a squaw, the daughter of the King so called, in order more effectually to distress the English. Col. Castine gave his name not only to the peninsula but to a township, as well as to the town built on the west side of the inclined plain between the fort and the water.

[1] James Miller (1776–1851).
[2] John Sylvanus Allanson, of New York, of the corps of artillery.
[3] John Roger Fenwick, of South Carolina.

The town contains about 800 inhabitants. It is difficult to say what supports them, for they have neither saw-mills, distilleries, or any kind of manufactures. The people generally date the decay of the town from the [*blank*].

The surgeon at this post is Dr. Wm. Ballard,[1] a learned and honorable man. But such has been the health of the troops that he has little to do. Having scarcely enough to call forth his energies in the strict line of his duty, he spends his leisure in the studies of the antient classics, in botany and mathematics. He has every thing needful about him as it regards medicine, instruments and hospital stores, but they are in little order, and not much to boast of in point of neatness. I have never found him wanting in his duty, or in his attention to the sick, but the reverse. Even his negligence of appearance is the negligence of the scholar and the man of talents. To which we may perhaps add that in all posts situated at the outskirts of the U. States, far distant from other forts, negligence to appearances is discernable. I have generally found that such as is the strict discipline, order and neatness of the garrison, such is the medical department of it.

The medical room or surgery is in a bad condition, and badly situated; the passage to it so dark as almost to need a candle in the day time. Every thing needfull was [to] be sure there; but not marked, numbered, and placed in that alphabetical order that marks some posts under surgeons of less merit than Dr. Ballard.

The barracks for the men were not in the best order, neither was the bedding remarkably clean. Almost every thing seemed out of repair. The men looked healthy, cheerfull and remarkably easy, insomuch that I should have mistaken them for militia had I not known to the contrary. I remarked the fatherly tenderness of the officers in allowing the men to wear gloves in the month of October.

As there is no infirmary, I should strongly recommend an hospital to be built, were there a probability of its ever being the residence of a numerous garrison. An hundred years hence, when the capital city of Maine shall be built on the banks of the Penobscott, then this important peninsula may be covered with fortifications and adorned with an hospital equal to them. That this will be the case appears probable from its commanding situation at the head of one of the most magnificent bays on the terraqueous globe, where depth of water, a shore as bold and even as that of Corunna and Ferrol, and nearly as well sheltered. Another circumstance, little spoken of is, that the bay is free from ice while the harbour of Boston is frozen so hard as to bear loaded waggons; and when the ice does make, it

[1] Of Massachusetts. He resigned from the service in 1822.

is seldom sufficient to bear a man, and breaks up, like the Baltic, all at once.

Castine is the centre of a considerable population, and is for that reason a shire town, where resides the register of deeds and probate of wills and where meet the courts of justice. Lest the Government should go to the expense of building an hospital for our enemies, I ascertained beyond all doubt from conversing with judges, clergymen, custom house officers, tavern-keepers, drovers, and women that they had an exalted opinion of British generosity.

It is a vulgar error that Fort George commands the mouth of the Penobscott. Vessels can enter it four miles distant from this fort. It is another vulgar error that the fort on the peninsula of Castine was [the] object of the unfortunate expedition set on foot by Massachusetts in 1779. It was against a fort on Bagaduce neck, where is a fine harbour, and which like Castine can be possessed at any time by that power which has the command of this magnificent bay by its naval superiority.

The River Penobscott is so superlatively fine for ease of navigation, and for its mill seats, and absolutely luxuriant borders, that it cannot fail to be farther dignified by being in future times to the capital of Maine what some of the finest rivers of the world are to their respective emporiums.

That Castine would be an invaluable spot to the British no one can doubt; but that it is to us, or will be, untill every village in its vicinity is a city, who, that sees it, and knows the present number and wishes of the inhabitants, can believe. It is from these and similar facts, impertinent perhaps for me to mention, that I cannot recommend an hospital to be built here which in case of war with England, would be of no use to America.

So cold as to be uncomfortable to sit without fire during the months of May and October.

PORTLAND. Forts Preble and Scammel,[1] commanded by Major Crane.[2] Joseph Eaton,[3] Surgeon.

Fort Preble is situated on a point of land two miles from the town of Portland. The ground surrounding it, ceded to the U. S. does not exceed five acres. It is a dry gravelly soil with excellent water. Every thing within this enclosure is neat and clean. A neat garden

[1] Fort Preble was on Spring Point, in Cape Elizabeth, and Fort Scammell, opposite to it, on House Island.

[2] Ichabod Bennet Crane, of New Jersey. He held a brevet rank at this time. He died October 5, 1857.

[3] Of Massachusetts. He died March 16, 1860.

is attached to the commanding officer's quarters, and every thing has the aspect of great attention and good management; and the men very clean and well dressed. Yet there have been and still are, more diarrheas at this post than all the other posts in the Department put together. This problem I was at first puzzled to solve.

The surgeon is [an] able and very attentive man. His hospital is new and very neat; built on an elevated spot, with every thing proper about it. The beef, bread and water were of the best quality, (for I always make it a rule to taste them all). I could therefore find nothing in the surgeon's department nor in the food that could account for these extraordinary diarrheas, untill I visited the barracks, and there I found that the men were not allowed to sleep on straw, but lay on the cold, hard boards.

PORTSMOUTH. Fort Constitution, commanded by Col. Walbeck.[1] Joseph Goodhue,[2] Post Surgeon.

Situated on a peninsula, or rather Island at the mouth of the harbour of Portsmouth. Every thing in and about this fort is very neat and proper: The barracks clean and well ventilated and not over crowded. The bedding is good and kept neat.

The medicine is ample in quantity and good in quality. The same may be said of the hospital stores, and of the surgical instruments. The surgeon is an able and experienced man and zealous to have his infirmary and all his medical matters like the rest of this garrison; but he has not the means. They have no suitable building for an hospital, or surgical room, nor any thing of the kind suitable to such a respectable post. I have therefore no hesitation in reporting that there is needed a new hospital at Fort Constitution. It may however be suggested that whereas it is not improbable that this fort may become but a secondary post in this harbour the government might hesitate on that account to go to any great expense in a building on this spot, seeing the principal may hereafter be fort Sullivan. Might it not therefore be wise to build here a small hospital, similar to that at Portland, but constructed so as to be converted, with little or no expense, into barracks? There is a good garden here, and the garrison have this season raised on the grounds surrounding the fort upwards of a thousand bushels of potatoes. The bargemen have hard service at this post, and require warmer clothing than the ordinary soldier especially about the throat and breast. It would be well to supply them in the winter with match-coats, especi-

[1] John De Barth Walbach, a German, who served through the war of 1812 with merit, and died a brigadier general, June 10, 1857.

[2] Of Vermont. He resigned in 1824.

ally if they be long exposed, late at night on the wharf, for some officer. I have known several men date their sickness to such exposure.

If neatness, order, good food and good water and an experienced surgeon ensure health, we need not wonder that this post has enjoyed so great a share of it.

Fort McClary on the opposite shore has a good spot for a garden, should it be again garrisoned. Perhaps every fort ought to have a garden, where they may raise medicinal as well as culinary vegetables. Convalescents may often be employed to advantage in a garden. It is also an healthy and sometimes a very pleasant occupation for an officer. We seldom find an English or Dutch fort without a garden. In general it is so cold here that it is uncomfortable to sit without fire during the month of May and the two last weeks of October.

MARBLEHEAD. Fort Sewall.

This compact fort is built on a peninsula of scarcely two acres in extent. In stormy weather the spray of sea may be felt to its centre. Even in the dryest seasons there is a dampness on the walls of the barracks of the privates and the quarters of the officers, rusting every thing metalic and injuring other things, and disposing the garrison to catarrhs and rheumatisms. This inconvenience is however counteracted by extreme neatness in every part of this exemplary garrison, where we find every proper thing in its proper place. In every post I have visited the men were in their uniform, but here they were in their undress; yet was it easy to discover their aspect of health, cheerfulness and vigour. To my eye they appeared a select corps of picked men. Their barracks was a pattern of neatness and order, which conduces to health.

The medicines are pretty good. The hospital stores as good as need be. Some of the surgical instruments are good; others as trapaning instruments too bad to be sent by the Apothecary General, or to be received by the surgeon. Such instruments should be reported useless. Some instruments as well as medicine suffer by the dampness of the place, but no care seems wanting to counteract it.

The water which is within a few feet of the sea is remarkably good. The provisions of all sorts are excellent. The bread better than at any other garrison I have visited. The cookery is out of the fort on a rock. I regretted that there was no room for a garden. There is a fishing schooner attached to this garrison that supplies them with fresh fish, and fish cured and salted. A miserable looking guard house forms a striking contrast to a fort distinguished for neatness

and order, or what expresses the whole economy. With the exception just mentioned this fort does credit to Col. Harris [1] and to our country, not but what much may be attributed to Dr. S.,[2] an able and experienced surgeon.

The bed frames are so well painted as to exclude buggs. Should we adopt the iron beadsteads, such as they have in British hospitals, we should find them cheapest in the end.

The appearance of the men at this post convinces me that the health and cheerfulness of troops depend almost entirely on old and correct officers, and good but easy discipline. The waste of health under new and inexperienced officers is shocking to humanity.

Boston Harbour. Fort Independence and Warren commanded by Col. Eustis [3] and garrisoned by three companies. Lewis Dunham,[4] Surgeon.

This fort is built on Castle Island which is about 13 acres in extent and four miles from Boston. As this is the most important and numerous garrison in the Department we had a right to expect a corresponding degree of attention in whatever regarded the health and comfort of the troops.

The hospital is a miserable old building not worth repairing, being pervious, I should suppose, to snow and rain. Some parts of its interior is kept pretty neat, others not. The bedding [is] not very neat. The chief surgeon is at this time absent on furlough. Here I found a very attentive and experienced Ward Master, on whom, as far as I could find, the principal care of things devolved. The medicine room was in good order and very amply supplied with good medicine, but not very well assorted. Here was opium enough to serve such a garrison fifty years. The hospital stores were also in abundance and of the very best quality. The surgical instruments not in the best order.

The barracks for the men of two stories. They cook in the lower rooms. Every room was over heated by fires, when no cooking was going forward. Nov. 6th a very warm day. The upper rooms were small, dirty and too much crowded. The lower rooms were well ventilated, but the upper ones not. Such rooms must be very uncomfortable and of course unhealthy in the hottest weather. The square, parade and walks of this fort were neat, but the rooms generally the reverse. It has a garden sufficient for the officers.

[1] Samuel D. Harris, of Massachusetts. He resigned in 1821.
[2] James Harry Sargent, of Massachusetts. He resigned in 1846.
[3] Abram Eustis, of Virginia.
[4] Of New Jersey. He resigned in 1819.

I have remarked that the medical matters seemed to rest principally on an experienced and very attentive ward master. I would observe here that no regimental hospital or infirmary is entitled to a ward master in full pay. Such an officer belongs alone to a *general* hospital. I therefore considered the hospital in some measure in this point of view. But when I wished to send a man to it, because there was no suitable place for his peculiar case at the Arsenal, Col. Eustis refused him admittance. The Surgeon of this garrison Dr. Dunham has ever conducted as if he did not consider himself under the controul of the Medical Director. He would make no returns to him, until he was ordered to do it by General Miller. He created difficulties and delays about supplies of medicine, and has given me more trouble, and more room for censuring him than all the rest of the surgeons together in the Department. I enclose one of his returns to illustrate my observations. When I have asked explanations, he declined giving them; and the only time he called upon me was with a view to personal altercation rather than explanation.

I have long been dissatisfied with the medical affairs of this post. There is a great difference between a popular, convivial, companionable surgeon, and the grave and steady man devoted like Dr. Sargent entirely to the duties of his station. Dr. Sargent resided nearly ten years at this garrison, and filled up the measure of his duty to the full. I was abundantly satisfied with all his conduct. The garrison at Marblehead has now the advantage of his long experience and steady character.

The deficiencies and defects of returns, and other marks of want of due consideration render it my duty to notice the necessity of some change in the medical affairs of this important post.

A new hospital is absolutely needed here. Should one be built, would it not be well to build it of brick, or stone, and so constructed and situated as to convert it into barracks in case this fort and Island should become only a secondary post?

The Dungeon, or black hole has, I have reason for believing been the death of several men. I dare not express fully my feelings on this painful subject, lest I should be thought to wander from my proper department into that of the police of the garrison and jurisdiction of court martials. I cannot however resist remarking that confinement in these dungeons is a very *unequal* punishment. Some can live through it, *but some cannot.* There is something horrible in putting a man to death by the gradual torture of stifling him day and night for a month. The effluvium of human excrements in some of these dungeons is enough to sicken the strongest man. Cannot this horrid mode of punishment be commuted for some other less revolting to humanity?

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND. Fort Woolcott.

If the visit at the garrison at Fort Independence left not the most agreeable impression, that at fort Wolcott in Newport harbour compensated and more than compensated my feeling of regret.

When I visited fort Constitution in Portsmouth harbour, I thought it could hardly be exceeded untill I saw the smaller fort at Marblehead; and this I was sure could not be excelled, and yet when I visited this post under the command of Col. Towson,[1] I saw that it was possible.

Goat Island on which fort Woolcott is built contains about twenty acres, being long and narrow, and lays about a mile and an half from the town of Newport. It is so situated as to be sheltered from the destructive effects of violent storms especially from the south west to north east. The Island is smooth having no excavations to retain stagnant water. Its position is remarkably pleasant, and its soil dry, yet in a good degree fertile.

From the waters edge, on every side, to the flag staff there is such a neat and garrison like aspect, as reminds us of the forts on the Scheldt and the Maise in the Netherlands. Every thing [from] the head of the pier to the commandant's quarters and the men's barracks appears in its proper place, and sett off with not neatness only but taste. The barracks are in the best possible state, and every utensil as neat as at the fort of Marblehead. All the men look in perfect health; not a sick man among them. Their provisions good and the water excellent. As is the fort and garrison so is the hospital, orderly, neat and commodious, with a garden that may be denominated spacious. This and land marked out for the inclosure of the [*blank*] are not yet finished.

The hospital itself is of a proper size, and neat as well can be. I could discover nothing wanting for the comfort of the sick. The bedding was very good and clean. The Surgery or Medicine room in the best order, as were the instruments; some of which however were not of the best quality; a defect which nothing but the difficulty of procuring English instruments during the war can be apologized for. Every thing in this little hospital did its surgeon credit. His bandages, various dressings, splints, spare cotton, flannel etc. were in the best possible condition in case of serious emergency. I have no hesitation in saying that Dr. Turner's[2] hospital matters and surgical apparatus stand the first in my opinion in this Department. Turner, Sargent, Goodhue, and Eaton reflect credit on the garrisons to which they are attached. There is less to find fault with, or to

[1] Nathan Towson, of Maryland (1784–1854).
[2] William Turner, of New Jersey. He died in 1837.

regret in this garrison than any one I ever visited. I have seen that which bears evidence of the officers and that the soldiers are here employed to make their situation more and more pleasant and comfortable.

New London, Connecticut. Fort Trumbull. Commanded by Capt. McDowell.[1] Alexander Cunningham, Surgeon.

This fort is built on a point of land projecting into the river, and about one mile from the town. The land surrounding belonging to the U. S. does not exceed ten acres.

The rooms appropriated for an hospital and for a surgery [are] very much out of repair, and unfit for the purpose, and every thing within it is pretty much in the same stile. The medicine is not arranged in good order. The instruments, bandages, cotton and woolen are all jumbled together without appearance of system. The medicines are scattered about in two rooms. The surgeon is I conjecture between seventy and eighty years of age, on which account I gave him several hours' notice of my intended visit. This gentleman does not reside in the fort, but in the town of New London. The barracks and bedding are not over neat, yet every thing appertaining to the soldiery, looks fit, I believe to meet a soldiers' eye. There is a good garden and good water and good provisions. The whole bore the aspect of a neglected post. If this post did not [*unfinished.*]

N.B. This whole report is copied into a stitched book, and sent November 27th, 1817.

To Major General Jacob Brown.

Sir, November 27, 1817.

By this mail I send the report of my visit of inspection to all the posts in the Department. Should it be thought that I have noticed the general state of such things, as may be considered by some beyond the line of the Physician, I would say in defence of it, that I have found generally, *That as is the neatness, order, and comfort of the garrison so is the medical affairs thereof.* It reflects credit on our Nation, that out of 1019 men, only *one* man died in the course of six months; and that one was of a lingering consumption. Such a little army must be a good *leaven* for a greater one.

I question whether any plan short of that of a *Physician General*,[2]

[1] Andrew McDowell, of New Hampshire. He died in 1829.

[2] From 1778 to 1800 James Craik had held the place of Physician-General, but on his death, no new appointment was made until 1813, when James Tilton became Physician and Surgeon-General. After 1818 the office became that of Surgeon-General and has since so remained.

will give that *uniformity* to our medical procedure which marks and dignifies some of the armies of Europe, the want of which I so much lament in our own. Were I a man of more consequence, I would venture to represent this thing to the President, in a view rather philosophical than official. I am confident that the establishment of such an high officer would be not only wisdom but economy. Most respectfully yours, etc.

B. W.

To Col. John E. Wool, Inspector General.

November 27, 1817.

Sir,

By this mail I transmit to the Adjutant General the report of my visit of inspection of the hospitals at all the posts between Castine and N. London. A short but severe indisposition, from exposure in a storm, prevented my compleating and transmitting this document so soon as I expected, and perhaps ought. In this report I have endeavoured to keep the due medium between prolixity and too great conciseness. Reports in a tabular form are too concise on which to form an accurate judgment. I have endeavoured to shew the inside of our medical establishments. I could not do this without mixing in with it somewhat of the garrison itself. The mere surgeon considers little more than the mechanical parts of his profession, whereas the physician contemplates not only the man, but every thing about him that may affect his health and comfort. Hence it is that I always notice the cheerful or the discontented countenance of a garrison.

Our service is singular in denominating all their medical officers Surgeons, whereas those of a certain rank ou[gh]t to be called Physicians. A *surgeon*, as the word implies, is an operator, or one who assists the disabled with his *hands*, whereas the physician contemplates man, and all the concomitants of humanity — air, earth, water, situation, food, and climate are the pages he studies for the preservation [of the] health and comfort of the soldier. There is more merit in *preventing* a disease than curing it, and this is a doctrine I unceasingly inculcate to officers and surgeons in garrison.

It may be mentioned to the honor of our select little army, that but *one* man has died out of *one thousand and nineteen men* in this Department during the last half year. Our domestic enemies must allow that this is evidence of a kind Providence *operating through good means*. While our garrisons have been remarkably healthy, our citizens, in different parts of this military Department have been very sickly. In some towns, as in England, the dysentery has swept

off a frightful number of the inhabitants. I was induced to write a circular letter to the surgeons of all our posts, lest they should adopt the absurd and destructive practice of our citizen practitioners. Not a man has died, to my knowledge who has been treated in the way recommended in that circular.

I lent that topographical sketch I showed you to General Swift,[1] by way of vade mecum for the President when viewing Boston harbour and Charlestown. The General seemed very much pleased with it; but afterwards, grew distant, and never allowed the President to see it, neither did he ever return it to me. His conduct on this head was unaccountable.

I have ventured in the conclusion of my report to give it as my decided opinion that we never can establish and carry into effect an *uniform system of medical* Economy, in the literal sense of that word, unless we have such an officer as a *Physician General*, who shall be the Medical Minister, from whom shall emanate all rules and orders, and in whom shall centre all the information relative to the medical and pharmaceutical affairs of the army. All other nations have such an officer, and we cannot get on well without one. At present every hospital surgeon has his *potion* — no two think alike, and whenever they come near to each other, they commence intriguing against each other; "hard words, jealousies and fears" are the consequence. An able Physician General would cure all this, and place things on that sure and respectable footing, which marks and dignifies some of the armies of Europe. I am confident that the establishment of such an officer would be *economy* as well as wisdom.

To John Quincy Adams.[2]

January 3d, 1818.

Dear Sir,

I herewith enclose to you a scheme or plan for changing the punishment of death for that of constant compulsory labour in a military Penitentiary. It relates merely to our soldiery, as you will see on perusal.

As it is intended for the eye of the President of the U. S., I thought there was more propriety in sending it to you than to [the] Secretary at War; because I have done this in my quality as a citizen rather than as one of the physicians of the Army. But as I am not sure which is the most proper channel, I feel disposed to ask your direction; and hope you will transmit it as you judge most proper.

This paper has grown up from many conversations with our mili-

[1] Joseph Gardner Swift, of Massachusetts. He died in 1865.
[2] Then Secretary of State.

tary commanders, more especially with General Miller, who is as humane as he is brave. I have been indebted to his minutes for some of the most pithy part of it. I should hardly have had the courage to have framed it, and sent it on had not General Miller requested me to give to it his entire and unqualified approbation as to its feasibility.

If it meet with your approbation I hope you will add to it the weight of your good opinion.

The punishment of the *black hole*, adopted in our garrisons in the place of whipping, is a disgrace to our country. I am confident it has destroyed the lives of several. I have seen enough in my late visits of inspection to the different posts in this Department, under an order to examine all hospitals and medical matters, to warm my zeal in abolishing it, and offering something more congenial to our humane character.

I have address[ed] a letter to the President which you may suppress if it be improper to forward it; for I am ignorant of the rules, or etiquette in such cases. I have communicated the outlines of the plan to your venerable Father, and have still the satisfaction of receiving a letter from him almost every week. I think your return to America will add a few more links to the chain of his most valuable life. My best regards to your good Lady. Your son is with us sometimes, but not so often as we wish.

Mr. Davis presented the following paper:

Governor Hutchinson's Currency Tract.

At a meeting of this Society held in February, 1899, I communicated a paper entitled "A Search for a Pamphlet by Governor Hutchinson." [1] The investigation which constituted the substance of the paper was instituted in consequence of my having recently run across a statement in *The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, a work brought forth by P. O. Hutchinson, to the effect that in 1736 Governor Hutchinson published a small pamphlet on the subject of paper money. I was then at work on a study of our provincial currency and was quite sure that no pamphlet had been preserved the authorship of which was openly acknowledged by Governor Hutchinson. My paper was therefore limited to an attempt to determine whether any of the pamphlets that had come down to us might

[1] 2 *Proceedings*, xii. 429.

with propriety be assigned to Hutchinson, and if so which it was. The selection was, as a matter of fact, not difficult to make. There were but two pamphlets dealing with the currency question, printed in 1736, to be found on the shelves of our libraries. Both were anonymous and the choice between them presented no difficulty. The one did not advocate the well-known opinions of the Governor; the other not only made a strong presentation of the views that he was known to hold, but had internal evidence tending to show that it was composed by him.

Had it been certain that no mistake had been made in the date of the pamphlet, and that the publications preserved in our libraries actually contained all the currency tracts of the period, there was strength enough in this evidence to have practically settled the question. At this point, however, the matter was complicated by the fact that both Haven and Sabine attribute an anonymous publication of the date of 1740 to Hutchinson, thus raising a doubt as to the accuracy of the date assigned to the pamphlet. It happens that the question of the title and authorship of this particular publication had been thoroughly examined by Wilberforce Eames, who came to the conclusion that Haven and Sabine had connected Hutchinson's name with Douglass's *Discourse*, so that while this entry was eliminated from the discussion, it nevertheless showed that something more was necessary than a mere examination of the pamphlets published in the year 1736.

There was a bare possibility that Hutchinson might have published a pamphlet over his own name which had not been preserved, but of which trace had been lost. This was extremely improbable, but would have required consideration, had it not been for the fact that one of the anonymous pamphlets of date of 1736 fulfilled all the conditions required for authorship by Hutchinson, containing, as it did, not only the advocacy of views corresponding with his own, but also bearing evidence in its style that it was composed by him. The conjectural determination of the authorship of the pamphlet may be said to have been satisfactory on the existing evidence, but it is clear that corroboratory testimony of a more conclusive character will be welcomed.

Quite recently the London agent of the Harvard Library has been offered, by the Rev. Sanford Hutchinson of Stoke-

on-Trent, an opportunity to purchase the manuscript of Hutchinson's third volume of his *History*, together with copies of Volumes I and II, with marginal annotations by Hutchinson himself. Accompanying these and included in the lot for sale, were several volumes of pamphlets of the revolutionary and pre-revolutionary period. Among these pamphlets was one entitled *A Letter to a Member of the Honorable House of Representatives on the present State of the Bills of Credit*, printed in the year 1736, and signed "Philopatriæ." The authorship of this pamphlet is ascribed to the Governor in an index inserted in the volume. As this was the pamphlet selected by me as the one which met the requirements for authorship by the Governor, and as the Society reprinted the pamphlet in 2 *Proceedings*, XII. 450, as an appendix to my paper, it is perhaps worth while to take cognizance of this corroboration at the hands of the Hutchinson family of the selection then made.

Letters of John Tulley.

The following letters are, by the courtesy of Mr. William A. Jeffries, drawn from the Jeffries family papers. They were written by the compiler of Tulley's *Almanacs* to the printer, Benjamin Harris, and to his son, Vavasour Harris. A letter from Tulley to the elder Harris, dated May 7, 1694, was presented to the Society in 1892 by Dr. Green, and is printed in 2 *Proceedings*, VII. 415.

	d	*sh*	
Received of Mr. Joseph Blague[1] upon the account of the almanacke	2	13	04
Memorandum, To buy for John Tulley			
1. a thousand and ½ half of 8*d* naiels			
2. And half a thousand of 6*d* naiels			
3. a neck-cloathe for William	00	05	00
4. A mantey for Lydia ready made	01	09	00
5. Eight yards of stuff for a mantey for my wife . . .	01	04	00
6. 3 or 4 brass thimbles	00	00	06
7. a white silk hood for Debarah	00	08	00
A [I] pray Mr. Harris to send me by your Brother John Kirtland[2] Mr. Nathaniell Colson Mariners new Kalender which was printed in the year 1691	no	04	00
	3	10	06

[1] Of Saybrook, Conn.

[2] Of Saybrook. This memorandum was sent to a brother, or brother-in-law

Mr. Harris, —

Kind Sr, after my loue and respects presented vnto you, These may let you vnderstand, that I purpose to make you an Almanack for the nixt yeare: 94: and do Intend (god willing) to have it ready to send down by the last of August or beginning of September, and therefore I would Intreat you to write me word to whom I shall deliver the Almanack, vnto, and whether you would haue it sent down by land or water. I have not as yet receiued one Almanack from Mr. Phillips [1] this yeare, but I hope he will send me some by the bearer hereof, it was in my order who euer had the Coppy to haue 2 Doz: and one bound one, and so I expect to haue yearly for the supply of my friends and neighbors, and I hope you will be so kind to take care to send them before winter, that I may haue them before the new yeare begins. I heard you printed the almanacks for Mr. Phillips, and if he should want some to send me peradventure you can supply him. Thus being in hast I rest, your Loueing Friend

John Tulley.

Say Brooke 14 of March 1692–93.

[Address] These For Mr. Benjamin Harris Printer, at the London Coffee-house in Boston. present with care. pr. Mr. John Bull.

Mr. Harris, Sir, after my loueing respects presented to you these may let you vnderstand that by the last post I received two letters beareing date the 1st of this Instant October, and 2 dozen of Almanacks, for which I giue many thanks for your care therein in sending of them and hope you will send the nailes according as you have mentioned in your letters. my son John [2] is coming down in a vessell that was built here this summer, and Intends to give you a vesset. Pray deliver this inclosed letter to him. I have in a hurry purrused the Almanack with the Coppy and do not as yet find any mistakes considerable or worth mending. they came to some damage in the bringing by reason of the wet season when they were brought. Sir, I am desired to Informe you by the master of our posthouse that when you send your letters they should be carried first to your post-house and put into the Say-Brook bag, that so they may come safe. otherwise perhaps they may not. I pray by all means forget not to

of Kirtland, whose father, Nathanael, was of Lynn, and is said to have lived in Silver Street, London, before his migration. His only son, John, removed to Saybrook during his minority, and was adopted by John and Susannah Wastall. He married Lydia Pratt of Saybrook, whose brother William Pratt had married Hannah, sister of John Kirtland.

[1] Samuel Phillips, who had, since 1692, published Tulley's almanacs.

[2] He died at sea.

send my naiels. if the post cannot bring them, then I pray send them without faile by my son. Thus in hast I rest your Loueing Friend,

JOHN TULLEY, SENIOR.

SAY-BROOK, Oct. 10th, 1694.

[Address] These for Mr. Vavasour Harris Printer at the signe of the Bible ouer against the bleu Anchor in Boston present with care.

MR. VAVASOUR HARRIS, —

These are to intreate you to pay vnto Mr. Joseph Blague, the sume of two and Forty shillings in money, which vpon part of pay for the next yeares almanack place to the account of your Loueing Friend

JOHN TULLEY, SENIOR.

SAY-BROOKE, the 4th of June, 1695.

MR. HARRIS, —

And loueing Friend. These may let you vnderstand that I receiued a letter from you bearing date June the 17, 1695, wherein I expected to haue seen you here with Mr. Blague, but I vnderstand that you and I am disapointed of our expectations. Sir you sent me a little booke by Mr. Blague intitled New-England Almanack:[1] which will be no help or advantage to me in the makeing of my almanacke, for I can make a better then that which would be more vsefull without the help of it. Sir, it is such an Ephemeris that I would haue wherein the motions of the Sun and moon and the other fiue planets with their Aspects are calculated for a Certaine number of yeares to come for the miridian of the City of London. I haue very good tables already fitted to the miridian of London whereby with the help of certaine other bookes I can calculate the motions of them [*torn*] moon and her Changes full and quarters and eclipses as also the motions of [the rest of] the planets for any year, past, presant, or to come, but it takes me vpe a great deale of time to do it, more than I can well spare, therefore I would willingly get an Æphemeris wherein the dayly motions of the planets are calculated for certaine years to come for the miridian of London, and then I can esier fit it to our miridian, from the meridian of London then I can do it from my tables. But however I shall not stay for an Ephemeris, for I am a makeing of it by my tables, as I have done heretofore, and hope to haue it finished according to the vsuall time and then I will send it downe to you, if I doe not bring it my selfe, my son John [*is gone*] to fyall he went away from hence the 17th day of June last past. Sir,

[1] By Christian Lodowick, and published by Samuel Phillips.

I am informed that a friend of his desired him to procure him a perrywige and to that end as I am informed there was hair sent downe to you to make it withall, now his friend tells me that he vnderstands by Mr. Blague that it is made, and you keepe it for my son John till he comes home from fyall, supposing or rather not knowing any thing to the Contrary but that it was for himself, and now my son being gone, and his friend in want of it desired me to write to you for it, that you would be pleased without faile to send it to me by the next post as also the price what you must haue for it and I will take care that your money shall be sent to you by the next post except you shall see cause to order it to me vpon the account of the almanack. I would also Intreat you to send me by the next post a little booke bound called the Devout Soul's dayly Exercise, in prayers, contemplations and praises, etc: by R. P: D. D.[1] for a friend, as also the verses made about the queenes death. I hope as soon as your father is come he will write to me. I should be very glad to here of his safe ariuall, and if he should send or bring an Ephemeris pray take the first oppertunity to send it well bound vp and sealed that it be not torn in the bringing, for if it should not come soone enough this year, it may serue for the future. Thus with my kind loue and respects and wives presented to you and your Loueing mother, I Rest your Loueing Friend

JOHN TULLEY, SENIOR.

SAY-BROOK, the 17th of July, 1695.

[Address] These for Mr. Vavasour Harris Printer at the signe of the Bible ouer against the blew Anchor In Boston present these with care.

BRAKENBURY'S RECANTATION.

Boston in N: E: this 14th of the 2d moneth, 1659.

Whereas there was a false and scandalous report in England concerning mr Nathanael Mather preacher of the word of god at Barnstable in Engl: aforesaid, viz: that he the said mr Mather was culpable in New Engl: of misdemeanour with a woman afore he went from hence; And whereas I John Brackenbury now of Boston in New Engl: aforesaid togeather with another man are said to be the Authors or raisers of the said report, Therefore for the clearing of the truth in this matter I the said John Brackenbury do hereby declare and testify, as followeth, viz: that being some while agoe at Barn-

[1] Issued in 1691, it passed into four editions by 1695. The name of the author is not known.

stable aforemenc̃oned and being there asked whether the thing were so, that he the said mr Mather was culpable in N: E: of the evill aforemenc̃oned I suddenly and inconsiderably affirmed that he was, and that the thing was true. But not long after calling to mynd my great mistake herein (for my thoughts at that time were upon another man who was so culpable indeed) and considering what wrong I had done to mr Mather aforesaid by what I had so inconsiderably and untruely spoken of him, I thereupon went to the Governour or chiefe magistrate in Barnstable aforesaid, and before him acknowledged my great mistake in this matter, and desyred as much as lay in me to take off the blemish which might there by my meanes be raised or strengthened against him the said mr Mather. And I do still acknowledge that it was my great fault to speake of mr Mather as I did, who never deserved any such thing at my hands, nor did I ever know him guilty of the evill aforemenc̃oned in the least degree. But desyring forgiveness from god and men for this vnadvised and vntrue saying of myne, I do also desyre that mr Mather aforemenc̃oned may not suffer in the thoughts of any by meanes of what was so vnguardedly spoken by me.

Jno. Brakenbury.

The above written was acknowledged by John Brakenbury to be that which he had spoken, and also which hee is sorry for as a thing mistaken and that this which is vnderwritten, viz. John Brackenburyes his name, was his hand and this he testified before me the 14th of Aprill, 1659

Jo: Endecott, *Gour.*

From John Eliot to John Cotton.

Beloved bro: Cotton, — if you knew what a refreshing comfort it is to my heart which you sent me in that one leafe, it would be a spur to your heart to be diligent and accurate, to goe on as you have so well began, and I hope for the like help from you through the whole work of the Bible. This one leafe hath afforded me more helpe in that work of translation, then ever I had before from any English man. *plus vident oculi quam oculus.* when you come (if the Lord will) I shall give you an account of what help it hath afforded me, and we shall contrive how to act herein for the future. The first sheets of Matthew was printed off before I received this welcome leafe, but in all that follow I hope I shall make due use of your observations. I need not tell you that Mr. Oaks [1] is to be installed Presi-

[1] He entered into office February 2, 1679–80, having served as acting President since April 7, 1675.

dent, the 4t of May, and Mr. Shepard to be ordained the 5 day of May.[1] I am glad to heare of your welfaire. my respects to your yockfellow. Let Prayers be mutual, to him who is our only helpe to whom I commit you and rest, your loving brother

JOHN ELIOT.

Endorsed: From Mr. Eliot Senior. Received April 26: 1680.

JOHN ROGERS TO JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Good Sir,

Your second letter I have received for which I thanke you most heartily. I was exceeding Glad to see your hand writing and to kisse your hand after the best manner I could. I perceive, and do not wonder at it, that you are solicitous concerning the welfare of your son, Thomas, who is pretty well and in no danger, hath had indeed the feaver and ague an epidemical disease amongst us. I hardly know of one family in this Towne or Cambridge that hath not come downe of that ilnes. Many in the colledge have been and are down of it, two in our owne family. As soon as I understood your son began to be ill, we sent for him over to our house, and my wife tended him as well as she could, but my aunt sent for him home. I visited him there yesterday, being under Mr. Allen his care and he is better, and without danger. Notwithstanding the disease doth G[row], yet through the Grace of God, there are hardly any that dy of it. I am hardly assured of one. Our poor Town of Ipswich within this 12 weekes have lost three or four of their principal men, the Major General before but in these few days, Mr. Jonathan Wade Senior, Mr. Thom: Andrews schoolmaster, Mr. Jno. Whipple Capt. of our horse that they are almost naked and much of their glory is departed. Sir, I cannot but condole your restraint who cannot turn again bout when you will nor to your own family: But I hope and pray heartily that you may soon have your liberty. I dare not say much to you of my apprehensions, but I should be glad you would please to communicate what you may. I hope you wil fare the better for the frequent yea constant prayers of al men of prayer. Yea you have the wel wishes of all. Sir, I must not enlarge but take leave. My wife presents her service to your worship. I pray accept of mine and present my hearty service to Mr. Richards. my aunt and Mrs. Richards are well. Mr. Kellond dyed on monday in the night and is to be buryed on the morrow, which is Fryday. Within

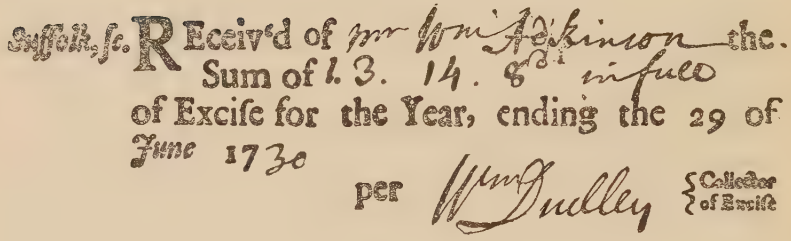
[1] Thomas Shepard (1658–1685), who succeeded his father as pastor of the church in Charlestown. John Sherman (1634–1685), of Watertown, and President Oakes officiated at his ordination.

this moneth or two at most have been 10 or 12 several untimely sudden deaths. Mr., Mrs Paige present etc. to you. No more but that I am your most humble servant and kinsman

J. ROGERS.

Boston. 16. 6. 83.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, BOWDITCH, and SANBORN.


Suffolk, ſc. Receiv'd of mr Wm Atkinson the.
Sum of l. 3. 14. 8d in full
of Excise for the Year, ending the 29 of
June 1730
per Wm Dudley Collector of Excise

DECEMBER MEETING, 1916.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; the VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Club of Odd Volumes, "A Westerly View of the Colledges at Cambridge New England," engraved by Sidney L. Smith, October, 1916, from an original print by Paul Revere in the possession of the Essex Institute, Salem.

From Charles Stearns, a photographic view taken from the rear windows of the Society's building in August, 1901.

From Frank W. Bayley, a photograph of a portrait of Joseph Stevens Buckminster, by Stuart.

From Mr. Storey, eight currency bills of the United Colonies, 1776 to 1779; eleven bills of the Confederate States, 1861 to 1864; and locks of the hair of George Washington, James Madison, Mrs. Madison, and John Quincy Adams, accompanied by the following letter:

The Fenway, 24
December 10, 1916.

To the Massachusetts Historical Society:

The four specimens of hair sent herewith were found among the papers of my father-in-law, Richard D. Cutts, in an envelope bearing his handwriting, and in the small envelopes which now contain the several specimens. That they are genuine cannot be doubted.

The three Payne sisters married respectively, James Madison, Richard Cutts and the nephew of General Washington.

The envelope containing General Washington's hair bears the handwriting of Mrs. Madison.

Those containing Mr. and Mrs. Madison's hair bear the handwriting apparently of Mr. Madison; and in the same parcel is found

the letter of Richard Cutts to his daughter, indorsed "Mr. J. Q. Adams's hair."

It has seemed that these relics are best placed in the Cabinet of the Society and I therefore present them herewith.

MOORFIELD STOREY.

From Mayor James M. Curley, the bronze medal presented by the City of Boston to the Massachusetts Regiment of the United States National Guard to commemorate the Mexican Border Service, 1916.

By purchase, eighteen photographs of portraits of Massachusetts persons; and a collection of medals, tokens and cards, including the engraved Franklin medal used in the Boston schools from 1815 to 1850, at the time when the income from the Franklin Fund was insufficient to allow the bestowal of the regular Franklin medals. This is known as the Sub-Committee medal, and this copy was given to J. Leighton in 1818.

The Corresponding Secretary reported a receipt of a letter from Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Mary B. Rathbone, additional Baury papers [1] and log-books kept by Frederick Baury, of cruises on U. S. S. *Essex*, John Smith commanding, October 29, 1809 — January 31, 1811; on the U. S. Frigate *Constitution*, Isaac Hull commanding, and on the receiving ship *General Green*, July 5, 1811–June 21, 1812; and on the *Constitution*, William Bainbridge commanding, October 28, 1812–February 12, 1813.

From Melville M. Johnson, an account rendered March 1, 1763, against the Province of Massachusetts Bay, by Samuel Procter, master of the Boston Alms House.

From Charles Francis Jenkins, of Philadelphia, three manuscripts.

William Keeney Bixby, of St. Louis, Missouri, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary read a letter from Mr. James Phinney Baxter, president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and a Corresponding Member of this Society, referring to a suggestion of a memorial building, to be erected

[1] *Proceedings*, XLV. 578.

to the founders of New England in connection with the Tercentenary Celebration in 1920, and asking that a committee be appointed to confer with committees from other historical and patriotic societies. Messrs. Winslow Warren, Henry H. Edes and William C. Endicott were designated to act as such a committee.

Mr. JUSTIN H. SMITH read a paper on

POLK AND CALIFORNIA.

It has long been charged that Polk brought on the Mexican war in order to obtain California, and also, for the same purpose, engaged in an intrigue; and these accusations have been pressed with as much zeal as if patriotism required us to prove or at all events proclaim them. Now in the first place it must be remembered that Polk was unpopular, and that anything said against an unpopular man — no matter how honorable the real facts of the case may be — is believed if it has the least show of plausibility. Secondly, the Mexican war, for reasons that have not yet been fully made known, was detested by many people, especially in New England; and any statement regarding the motive behind it was hailed as proven if calculated to make the affair odious. We should, therefore, be carefully on our guard, in approaching the subject before us, against inherited prejudices.

One thing is doubtless true. Polk, as President of the United States, desired strongly to acquire California. But so did the country in general. Indeed our people were profoundly interested in the matter. As early as 1839 a congressional report on Oregon said enough about the territory farther south to excite attention; and Forbes's history of California, published the same year, did much to fix it and create the fear that European powers might encroach there. The seizure of American residents in 1840, the appearance of Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* and the incidents connected with Jones's landing at Monterey deepened the impressions. By 1842 glowing letters from American settlers began to appear in our newspapers, and the suspected purposes of England received ample notice. Gold existed there, it was reported; the country was attrac-

tive, salubrious and rich; the port of San Francisco had a value that words could not represent, and the British already held a mortgage on the country. Our Pacific whaling fleet was said by the New Bedford member of Congress to include before the end of 1844, 650 vessels, which had cost twenty millions and employed 17,000 men; and not only was this harbor most important, since the bar at the Columbia River hampered navigation, but American control was needed there, since the uncertain and vexatious Mexican regulations caused great annoyance. Besides, it was pointed out, we required a fortified port on that coast, else in case of war with England the whalers would be unable to avoid capture. All these ideas took root, and in the spring of 1845 — about the time Polk was inaugurated — the press from New York to St. Louis and New Orleans broke into quite a furor about California. Its value was dwelt upon; that English holders of Mexican bonds had their eyes upon it was truthfully stated; the designs of the English government seemed to be made clear; and annexation was not only urged, but represented as near at hand.[1]

Our government was even in advance of the people. In 1835 an attempt was made to purchase the Bay of San Francisco. The next year Powhatan Ellis expressed the opinion that northern California would be of "immense importance" to us. In 1842, while Daniel Webster was Secretary of State, our minister at Mexico not only expatiated on the value of the territory, but reported that England was endeavoring to forestall us, and he was instructed to ascertain whether an offer from this country would be acceptable. Our strained relations with Mexico and especially Jones's occupation of Monterey, which occurred in that year, made it unwise to follow up the matter; but after an interval Tyler and Webster planned an arrangement which, had it been carried through, would have given us the port of San Francisco. The record of England, remarks from British writers, numerous warnings received from our diplomatic and consular agents at Mexico and the consensus of opinion in California, Mexico, France and the United States were quite

[1] Mr. Smith's paper was accompanied by a complete set of references to printed and manuscript records. As a good part of those references were to manuscript material, inaccessible to the reader, he has consented to omit the notes, which will be on file with the Society.

enough to warrant suspicions of Great Britain, and the circumstances connected with the visit of Duflot de Mofras, attaché of the French legation at Mexico, to California and the publication of his book by order of the king hinted of danger from another quarter; but neither country took any positive action, and our government — doubtless noting that a tide of emigration to the far west had begun — refrained from every move that could excite the jealousy of Mexico or Europe.

In short, the sentiment of the nation and the policy of the government had for years been focussing upon California, and Polk entertained the same feeling and the same design. But this was natural and reasonable on the part of a representative Chief Magistrate succeeding other such officials. It no more follows that he brought on the war to gain an end which he, like others, had in view than it can be inferred, because a young man intends to acquire property, that he is ready to commit murder for it; and as little does it follow from the other fact, that immediately after the war began he took steps to occupy and hold the territory; yet such is the only evidence for the principal charge against Polk.

On the other hand, while not raising the question whether he did intentionally bring on the war, we find against this charge certain very stubborn facts. One is the character of the secret and confidential instructions given to our naval officers in view of Mexico's threatening attitude, and particularly to the commander of our Pacific squadron, who imperatively needed, on account of the long time required to reach him with specific orders, a clear intimation of the government's general policy. These instructions declared unequivocally that war with Mexico was not desired, and insisted that all possible care should be taken to avoid giving offence. Another is the fact — regarding which a close analysis of the circumstances, in the light of the many American, Mexican, British and Spanish documents bearing upon them, leaves no room for doubt — that Polk earnestly endeavored, for strong reasons that can be specified, to reëstablish our friendly relations with Mexico, which a series of events, most of all the annexation of Texas, had upset and finally broken off. A third is the documentary proof that while extremely anxious to buy California, upon which he believed England and France had serious designs,

he directed Slidell, who was our envoy to Mexico at the critical period, to avoid pressing this important point, should it seem likely to interfere with his capital aim — the restoration of those friendly relations. Finally, Polk had a plan for the acquisition of California, in case the territory could not be purchased, which seemed entirely adequate and wholly free from the risks, expense and bloodshed of a conflict in arms.

To explain this properly, it is essential to begin some time before the war. Mexican rule signified nothing to California save injury. In 1836 the people, aided by a few Americans and other foreigners, took up the same battle-cry as Texas and raised the same blue flag illumined with a single star. The Mexican troops were expelled, and three Californians — Alvarado, Vallejo and Castro — assumed the control of the province. Two years later President Bustamente recognized their government; but in 1843 Santa Anna sent up General Micheltorena, with soldiers who were mostly convicts and officers that were mostly debauchees, to restore the national supremacy. Countenanced and protected by their commander these men, instead of repressing the savages, harassed the people with insults, outrages and murders. In November, 1844, Alvarado and Castro took up the sword, and the following February the Mexicans were driven out. Once more the national authorities abjectly accepted a revolutionary situation, recognizing as Governor the senior member of the provincial assembly, Pio Pico, and as Commandante General José Castro, who appointed himself to that position; and Mexico's destruction of the missions and sale of their property (1835–44) gave further public notice in a sense that California was virtually to be thrown away. It has practically been abandoned, wrote the German traveller Löwenstern in 1843; and this fact was rendered still clearer by the proposal of May, 1846, that England should take military possession of the province, which Bankhead, the British minister, described as "an indirect offer of sale," and by an explicit suggestion that Prussia take it. Mexico had not only forfeited her sovereignty over California, but virtually had abdicated.

In such a state of things the country could not advance. Indeed it was going backwards. The only source of revenue was the duties collected at Monterey, and these — amounting

to $80,000 or $100,000 a year and signifying the virtual confiscation of about one-third of all the property in California — mostly disappeared in private pockets. No military forces able to cope with the savages were maintained. In consequence of their incursions farms were being abandoned, and they even raided within the settlements. The laws were openly disregarded. There were practically no courts and no police, and each man had to defend his person and property as best he could. No sort of regular postal facilities existed, and communication with Mexico was rare and mostly by chance. The only carriage in the country had been one belonging to Micheltorena. There were no real schools, not a single newspaper, and of course hardly any books except in a very few hands. With gold in sight and actually seen, people did not look for it. In a region where the wild clover grew several feet high and a single grapevine would yield a barrel of juice, the government did nothing and the citizens could do little to promote the cultivation of the soil. With all the boundless coasts of the Pacific waiting for horses, beef and lumber, droves of unbroken colts tossed their manes in a wilderness, beeves were slaughtered for their hides and huge trees crashed to the ground amid the silence of an untenanted forest. Six-cent muslins cost fifty cents, and the coarsest of straw hats paid a duty of three dollars. If a man wanted a kettle mended he looked for some one trained abroad, and not a patch could be applied to a child's torn skirt without first sending to Boston for a hank of thread.

The dissatisfaction of the people was therefore natural, and extended far beyond the misdeeds of lawless troops. The officials professed loyalty to Mexico in public, but that signified nothing. The province was determined to shake off her authority. California will soon declare its independence, wrote the British minister at Mexico in 1841, while his French colleague, who was in close touch with the situation, believed it would merely be a question between England and the United States. California is almost ready to separate from the mother country, concluded Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-Chief of the Hudson Bay Company, who was there a year later. As a rule the people are disaffected, it was directly reported in June, 1844. The principal men have decided, wrote Forbes, the

British vice-consul, in September, 1844, that progress under Mexican authority is impossible, and they will not have it. The Californians are unanimously determined to be rid of the Mexican military government, declared the British consul under whom Forbes acted, a few months later; and of course all Mexican rule was military. A separation is probably inevitable, concluded Lord Aberdeen, head of the British Foreign Office, at the end of the year. California "*must* change owners," said a letter from that coast in July, 1845. "The people hardly care what Flag is exchanged for their own," stated a competent American observer two months later, while a Californian was predicting that the Stars and Stripes would certainly go up there. Another Mexican expedition would not be tolerated, said Larkin, our consul at Monterey. In fact a commissioner from California so notified the government. And other opinions of this tenor could be cited.

Nor were such opinions merely given — they were given to Mexico. Many warnings, both official and private, went from California, and the province maintained commissioners at the capital who presented information regarding the wholly unsatisfactory conditions existing there. Alarms were sounded publicly in such newspapers as *Le National* and the *Journal des Débats* of Paris, the London *Times* and the London *Morning Chronicle*. Notices regarding the danger of American encroachment — particularly by the method of emigration, a declaration of independence and early annexation — were received over and over again from the Mexican minister at Washington, the Mexican consul at New Orleans, Pakenham, the British minister at Mexico, and Bankhead, who succeeded him. Yet the government did nothing, and confessed that nothing could be done.

Virtually, one says again, it was abdication. Both morally and physically Mexico had thrown away and forever lost her control of the province. She had nothing left except the bare thread of legal proprietorship; and in certain cases legality is, according to enlightened modern ideas, nothing. It is our conviction — is it not? — that human welfare, when its demands are clearly indicated, is the supreme test; and the welfare, not merely of California, but of all the world, certainly required that so rich a portion of the earth should be developed and occupied.

In our opinion a child, neglected and abused by drunken parents who are always fighting each other, has good grounds for leaving home, though not legally independent. We believe in the right of revolution, which means that when a country misgoverns persistently a considerable part of the population it forfeits all claims to domineer over them; and California, though her weakness led officials to practise a lip service that deceived nobody, had more than once rebelled, had made good her cause and entertained no thought of accepting Mexican rule again. She was, therefore, being in every way unable to establish herself as an independent nation and gain the recognition of the world as such, quite adrift. The province is now "at the mercy of whoever may choose to take possession of it," wrote the nearest British consul in 1845. Californians, Mexicans, Britons, French and Americans, who were qualified to judge, agreed on that. She was the homeless child, it would seem, whom any kind, intelligent and well-to-do person may, and some kind, intelligent and well-to-do person should, provide for. Any one of the nations then leading the march of civilization, if disposed to perform a parent's duty toward California, could rightfully have taken charge of her, and some one of them was under obligation to do so. Of those nations the United States was more favorably situated than any other to execute the trust, and she was ready to accept it.

Early in 1845, a breach with Mexico seemed very possible, and the danger that she would somehow dispose of California in order to place it beyond our reach was deemed acute. But our government did not intend to have war, the tide of emigration to that quarter was rising, and Polk warned off European interference by a reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine. On July 10, 1845, however, Larkin wrote that England was maintaining there a vice-consul without consular business, and that according to the universal belief in his vicinity she was promoting a new Mexican expedition against California; and, at about the same time as this letter, news of an extensive British plan to colonize in that province arrived from London.

The question was then maturely considered at Washington. Apparently the American emigrants, unless blocked, were sure to bring California into the Union. That was natural and logical; such a peaceful invasion had given us Texas; and in the

opinion of well-qualified observers it seemed likely to be equally efficacious in California. Larkin, the Californians, the British vice-consul, the Mexican consul at New Orleans, the Mexican minister at Washington, and Mexican, British, French and American journals concurred in this view. Larkin believed the matter would be settled in that way by 1848. "Without striking a blow and without incurring any expense," wrote the British vice-consul, the United States will obtain a secure foothold in the coveted region. The Americans do not need to fight for California, said *Le Constitutionnel* of Paris. "No more convenient mode of conquest was ever devised," remarked the Baltimore *American*. To suppose that Polk and the Cabinet failed to see what was not only obvious but often pointed out would be absurd. The condition and political feeling of California, which were quite well known through Larkin and others, fully warranted a procedure so amicable and so beneficial; and it only remained to guard against European interference, which our government now considered a real danger.

On October 17, 1845, therefore, confidential instructions, based upon the fact that British and French consular agents having no commercial business were maintained in California, were issued to Larkin. "The interests of our commerce and our whale fisheries in the Pacific Ocean demand," he was informed, "that you should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempt, which may be made by foreign governments to acquire a control over that country." Against such an attempt the United States would "vigourously interpose"; but "should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power"; and "whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce California to become one of the free and independent States of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren, whenever this can be done without affording Mexico just cause of complaint." The "true policy for the present" is "to let events take their course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them without their consent either to Great Britain or France."

Such, then, was the plan of our government for the acquisition of California — not war, but emigration, independence,

annexation, and meantime no European interference; and here we encounter the secondary accusation against Polk. This move through Larkin, we are told, was an intrigue. But if that word be in fairness applicable, the "intrigue" was only designed, so far as it concerned Mexico and California, to rescue with a gentle hand the neglected, abused and lost; so far as it concerned England and France, to ward off an interposition which, if attempted, would probably have led to war; and, so far as it concerned the United States, to safeguard and advance most important national interests while promoting also the general good of the world. Such "intrigues" are among the most legitimate achievements of true statecraft.

In short, then, one's patriotism does not have to confess that an American President was a wretch unhanged. Polk did not, for the purpose of tearing California from the parent stem, bring the horrors of war upon two nations and endanger the peace of the world. His wish to acquire the territory was justified by the natural aspirations of the United States, the misrule of Mexico and the sentiments of the Californians; and his legitimate "intrigue" aimed only at laudable ends.

Mr. LODGE sent to the Editor the following note on

WITCHCRAFT IN HOWELL'S "FAMILIAR LETTERS."

In reading again last summer the *Familiar Letters* of James Howell my attention was arrested by what he said in regard to witchcraft, which, in my previous readings of these delightful letters, I had never before particularly noticed. His statements seem to me of interest as showing the universal belief in witchcraft, not only in England but in Europe, and his description of the witchcraft epidemic in England in 1646 is also very significant. I did not recall ever having seen in our histories any reference to Howell's statements. I am not sufficiently familiar with all the large literature connected with the Salem witchcraft to say that no such reference occurs anywhere, but none is made certainly by Upham or Nevins, whose books I suppose are the most elaborate and authoritative that we have.

The statements to which I refer are as follows, and my references are to the Jacobs edition of Howell's *Familiar Letters*, published in 1890.

In a letter to his "Honourable Friend, Mr. E. P. at Paris," dated from the Fleet, the 3d of February, 1646, he says (p. 506):

. . . We have likewise multitude of Witches among us, for in Essex and Suffolk there were above two hundred indicted within these two years, and above the one half of them executed: More, I may well say, than ever this Island bred since the Creation. I speak it with horror. God guard us from the Devil, for I think he was never so busy upon any part of the Earth that was enlightened with the beams of Christianity; nor do I wonder at it, for there 's never a Cross left to fright him away.

Writing to the same correspondent on February 20, 1646, he says (p. 515):

. . . The Devil may walk freely up and down the streets of London now, for there is not a Cross to fright him any where; and it seems he was never so busy in any Country upon Earth, for there have been more Witches arraign'd and executed here, lately, than ever were in this Island since the Creation.

A year later he wrote to Sir Edward Spencer, on February 20, 1647, and discussed at length both demonology and witchcraft. The entire letter is well worth reading, for it displays a good deal of learning and shows how general, widespread and universally accepted the belief in witchcraft was. He writes as follows (p. 548):

I will not say that this Gentleman is so perverse; but to deny there are any Witches, to deny that there are not ill Spirits, which seduce, tamper, and converse in divers shapes with human Creatures, and impel them to actions of malice; I say, that he who denies there are such busy Spirits, and such poor passive Creatures upon whom they work, which commonly are call'd Witches; I say again, that he who denies there are such Spirits, shews that he himself hath a Spirit of Contradiction in him, opposing the current and consentient Opinion of all Antiquity.

And further he says (p. 551):

But we need not cross the Sea for examples of this kind; we have too too many (God wot) at home. King James a great while was loth to believe there were Witches; but that which happen'd to my Lord Francis of Rutland's Children convinc'd him, who were be-

witch'd by an old Woman that was servant at Belvoir-Castle; but being displeas'd, she contracted with the Devil (who convers'd with her in form of a Cat, whom she call'd Rutterkin) to make away those Children, out of mere malignity and thirst of revenge.

But since the beginning of these unnatural Wars, there may be a cloud of Witnesses produc'd for the proof of this black Tenet: for within the compass of two years, near upon three hundred Witches were arraign'd, and the major part executed in Essex and Suffolk only. Scotland swarms with them now, more than ever, and Persons of good Quality executed daily.

This letter is interesting not merely for the account of witchcraft in England or elsewhere but because it gives Howell's own opinion in the first extract which I have quoted. Howell was not only an able and accomplished man, but he was a man of the world who had travelled widely, was a scholar and a master of much curious learning. Yet it will be seen that he thoroughly believed in witchcraft himself. There could be no better testimony as to the universal acceptance of the fact of witchcraft and of the Old Testament injunction that a witch should not be suffered to live.

There is another interesting allusion to the same subject made many years before in a letter written from Paris on September 8, 1620, in which he gives an account of the assassination of Concini, the Marquis d'Ancre. He then says, speaking of Concini's wife who was the favorite of the Dowager Queen Marie de Medici, that after the murder of her husband she "was hereupon apprehended, imprison'd, and beheaded for a Witch some few days after upon a Surmise, that she had enchanted the Queen to dote so upon her Husband; and they say the young King's Picture was found in her Closet in Virgin-wax, with one Leg melted away."

This is a vivid illustration of the belief of witchcraft in France. It has been so common to treat the Salem witchcraft as if it was something wholly out of the usual order and peculiar to the Puritans of New England that it is well to emphasize the fact that all attainable evidence shows that it was merely a manifestation here of a popular delusion of which there had been examples everywhere, both before the tragedies of Salem and afterwards. There has been a great deal of evidence of this kind produced by those who have made studies of the Salem

witchcraft, but it seems to me that what Howell says is of sufficient importance to be added to the other abundant testimony on the same subject.

Mr. WENDELL, on behalf of Mrs. Thomas Russell Sullivan, presented to the Society the complete records of the "ΚΗΡΥΚΩΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΕΙΟΝ or the K. Δ. of Cambridge," from November 13, 1804, to October, 1819. This volume, which was among the papers of our late associate, Mr. Sullivan, contains a full account of the proceedings of a society of students of divinity at Cambridge, many of whom were subsequently distinguished in the Unitarian churches. Among the names which occur in the records are those of Andrews Norton, Edward Everett, N. L. Frothingham, Henry Ware, Jr., Francis W. P. Greenwood, James Walker, Jared Sparks and John G. Palfrey. And a study of the texts from which these men and their classmates experimentally preached to their professional club might throw considerable light on the development of Unitarianism for some years before Channing's famous sermon on Unitarian Christianity.

In presenting to the Society the original subscription list[1] of a society formed in Boston, in 1801, "for cultivating among its members the Science of Natural Philosophy," Dr. WARREN said that little was known of the society beyond what is told in the papers printed in our *Proceedings*. It came into existence when Boston was in its formative period, and John Quincy Adams mentions two or more of its meetings, one being held in Mr. Bussey's garden, June 16, 1806, to observe a solar eclipse.[2] In all probability the Society, which never seems to have been formally incorporated, was absorbed by another, or died a natural death. It left no records of its transactions, so far as is known.

Mr. SANBORN communicated the following paper on

THE CONVERSION OF A LOYALIST TO A PATRIOT: OF A ST. JOHN TO A ST. JEAN DE CRÈVECŒUR.

Since my paper of June last on "A Mystery in the Early Life of Hector St. John,"[3] Miss Mitchell has published her biog-

[1] Reproduced in *Proceedings*, XLIX. 419.

[2] *Memoirs*, I. 442.

[3] *Proceedings*, XLIX. 412.

raphy of that worthy, who has of late recovered his popularity as an American author. My more thorough reading of her valuable book warrants some additional statements of fact; and a pretty consistent theory of his expatriation from France, and his return thither, after an absence of twenty-seven years, in the summer of 1781. He left France for England in 1754, as John Hector St. John, and by that name he was naturalized in New York in 1766. By that name he bought land in Orange County, lived on it amid friendly neighbors for ten years, and by that name got permission from Governor George Clinton to go into New York, early in 1779, to sail for England in his return to France. But when he reached his native Normandy in the summer of 1781, he found that he had become St. Jean de Crèvecœur. In explanation of this change of name he wrote as follows to Dr. Franklin, then ambassador in Paris:

> The name of our family is St. Jean (in English, St. John) a name as antient as the Conquest of England by William the Bastard. I am so great a stranger to the manners of this my native country, (having quitted it very young) that I never dreamt I had any other than the old family name. I was greatly astonished when, at my late return, I saw myself under the necessity of being called by that of Crèvecœur. The reason of this mistake proceeds from the singularity of the French custom, which renders their names almost arbitrary, and often lead them to forget their family ones: it is in consequence of this that there are more *alias* dictums in this than in any other country in Europe.

He left his farm in Orange County an esteemed Tory or loyalist — loyal to the British government. I say "esteemed," because he was held in good estimation there, and in friendship with both Patriots and Tories. When in 1778 he applied to Governor Clinton for permission to go into the city of New York, in order to sail for France, by way of England, some of the neighbors endorsed his application; others, like Henry Wisner, opposed it, fearing he might give information to Sir Henry Clinton, then in command of the forces there. He wrote to his Governor: "The people of our County are much alarmed at their apprehensions of St. John's being permitted to go to New York. I asked one of the most sensible of them what damage he could do? He observed that he might advise the burning of Sterling Works, in order to prevent our getting

the (West Point) Chain done!" The application was made to Clinton, April 9, 1778, who wrote to General McDougall, the American commander in that region, and received from him the following reply:

Your favor of the 13th inst. on the subject of leave to Mr. St. John going to France *via* of New York, was this day handed to me by him. As he is a Citizen, and you better acquainted with his political character than I am, the request he makes must be submitted to you. If you permit him to go, I wish he may go by land, and on the west side, and under such guards as your own prudence shall suggest. I think his honor should be engaged not to give any public intelligence to the enemy; nor to carry any letters but shall be first exhibited to you, or any papers relative to the public state or temper of the country.

It was not until December, 1778, that St. John got into New York with his son Alexander, and on February 17, 1779, he addressed to the Tory, Colonel Roger Morris, in charge of relief for the loyalist refugees, the following letter, endorsed by his friend, William Seton, to whom the *Letters of an American Farmer* were first addressed:

The diffusive misfortunes of the times is the only introduction I have, as well as the only plea I can make, for writing you this: Like a great many others, I have relinquished the conveniencies of life — property, servants, &c. These incidents, however, are now become so common, that I am very conscious they are less thought of. So many sacrifices of the same kind have been made, that the calamities of each individual seem to be drowned in the general Mass; yet they are not less felt by each sufferer. Myself and son are now become Refugees in this Town; and I find myself obliged to apply to you for the indulgence of Rations for us both, from this date — the only reward of four years of Contumely received, of Fines imposed, emprisonments, &ca.

The enclosed letters from persons better known than myself, will, I hope, convince that my request is founded on necessity; and will enable you to judge how far I am justifiable in making this application.[1]

This was eleven months after he had made his request to go into New York, and it was still more than a year before he was

[1] Endorsed, "Received from Mr. St. John, Thursday forenoon, March 18, 1779."

allowed by the British to sail for France, and more than two years before he joined his father at Pierpont in Normandy. What separated father and son all this time and made the son a devoted friend and loyal subject of England? Apparently the question of religion, though neither of them were bigots. The first departure from France may have been in answer to an invitation from French Huguenots residing in Hampshire, relatives of one of St. John's aunts by marriage, a family named Mutet, residing in Salisbury. Many Huguenots had taken refuge in England at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes — the Martineaus, Bosanquets, etc.; just as the Bowdoins, Faneuils, Sigourneys, Jays, Laurenses, Maurys, Marions and others, had come to America. Hector St. John's education seems to have been completed in Salisbury, and he was in love with a damsel there, who may also have been a Huguenot residing in England. Apparently she was a Protestant, and St. John's father was, in 1754, a Norman gentleman, of education and a fashionable connection at Paris, who must have looked for his son's marriage among families of his own rank and religion in France. He would then have negatived a marriage in England, with a Protestant of lower rank, and probably he refused to sanction it by furnishing the documents then needful to legitimate a marriage in France. That this was his attitude toward the New York marriage of St. John is made probable by the anxiety of his son in the years following 1780, when the mother of his children was dead, to prove the legitimacy of those children, so that they might inherit their grandfather's estate of Pierpont in Normandy. On this point Miss Mitchell's book has much to say. The Baron de Breteuil had advised the father to collect all the official and public statements that he could obtain concerning his three children, all born at his Pine Hill farm near the Greycourt meadows in the Cornwall Precinct of Orange County; and also secure a consent of his father, now styled the Marquis de Crèvecœur. This was in 1784. The next year (February 13, 1785) St. John wrote to his frequent correspondent, the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, "I forgot to tell you that I have added to my documents the formal consent of my father, given before a notary" — of course, long after the marriage, which occurred in September, 1769, and was unknown to his father the Marquis three years afterwards. Probably it only

became known to him in 1781, when St. John returned, a new sort of prodigal son, to his father's house, bringing with him Lieutenants George Little and Alexander Storey, of the American armed vessel *Protector*, and three other naval officers, all escaped from an English prison—Samuel Wales, Clement Lemon, and Isaac Collins. Dr. Franklin, writing to Governor Hancock (September 21, 1781) said: "This friendly and hospitable treatment of our people entitled this gentleman to our regard, and as he thinks it may be in your Excellency's power to render him some service in our country, I take the liberty to acquaint you with the fact, and that he is much esteemed by persons of consideration here in Paris." In fact, as appears in my paper of ten years ago, Gustavus Fellowes had recompensed this Good Samaritan of Normandy by searching out his orphaned children in Chester, New York, and adopting them as his own.

When he first appears in the American colonies (whether he came direct from England or by way of Canada, as his descendants think), he is heard of in Shippensburg near Carlisle in Pennsylvania, where he seems to have been a land surveyor. Indeed, Miss Julia Mitchell, writing in English, with a fuller knowledge of the details of his American life than any author has yet displayed, makes this express statement in her volume:

> At the close of his school-days in Caen, probably in 1753, when he was 18, he made a visit to Salisbury, where he lived for a time with two elderly maiden ladies named Mutet, relatives, presumably, of his uncle Jacques de Crèvecœur, whose wife was a Mutet. Not long after he became engaged to a young woman of whom nothing has been learned, except that she was the only daughter of a business man, known to the Mutets. She died before marriage, and this event was the cause of Crèvecœur's sudden departure for America. The next eight or nine years were spent chiefly in Pennsylvania, with headquarters at Philadelphia, where he acted as partner or agent of a man who was probably a connection of the Mutets. His business seems to have involved a great deal of journeying; it is probable that he was trading with the Indians during some of the time. After dissolving relations with this associate, he seems to have relied on surveying for a livelihood. About 1764, as he wrote to the Duke de Harcourt, he travelled through the region now known as Vermont.

His father stated absolutely that he lived in Philadelphia "eight or nine years ago," which, reckoning back from 1772,

would carry him there in 1763, when he was probably at Shippensburg, and among the Quakers. This would leave nine years for his life in England, Holland, Lisbon, Canada, or wherever he might have rambled. In no country does he seem to have kept up communication with his father, whatever the cause of the estrangement. In 1767 he was probably wooing Miss Tippet in one of the Hudson River counties of New York, she being of a Huguenot and loyalist family, which in 1783 migrated to Nova Scotia. He did not at first ask his father's consent to the marriage, and he afterwards feared his American marriage might fail to legitimate his three children. It was to aid in establishing the status of his children (all then living), and not through personal vanity, that St. John obtained for them citizenship in Hartford, New Haven, and Vermont, which warranted Gouverneur Morris in giving the two sons passports as American citizens (1792) in order to get them out of Paris during the Reign of Terror, when St. John and his daughter Fanny were themselves unsafe there.

By that time Crèvecœur, as we must call him after 1781, could see what an actual social revolution is and how little our American separation from the mother country deserved that formidable name. Let me now return to his reception in New York City in 1779, as a friend to the British government.

He was a mild Tory, as we have seen, and was vouched for as such by the city loyalists, especially by Seton, who had long known him. During the spring and summer of 1779 he occupied himself in surveying the Trinity Church lands and other property under British control, being a good land surveyor and map-maker. Indeed, he wrote to Rochefoucauld in 1784: "I was nothing but a simple land-surveyor, a tiller of my own land, or a roamer through the forests of a region in this country; in company with some of its natives." This fact negatives a theory that he was ever a subaltern officer in Montcalm's army, which his descendants, now in Paris, have been inclined to believe, in spite of his own declarations to the contrary.

But in July, 1779, he was surprised, on Long Island where he was visiting a Reverend Mr. Brown, by an order of arrest from Sir Henry Clinton, which included both his person and papers, but not his son Alexander, who had come with him to

New York. General Pattison, who executed this order, thus reported to Sir Henry:

The account Mr. St. John gives of himself is, that he is a native of Caen in Normandy, but came into this country many years ago, and was naturalized; that he first went into the Mercantile Line; but afterward bought a farm in Orange County, on which he settled; but was obliged to quit it about six months ago, and leave his family and property behind, on account of the persecution he underwent from his attachment to Government: and that, during his leisure hours he amused himself with making such literary observations as occurred to him; but which, he is convinced will, upon perusal, do him credit in the opinion of those attached to the King's government. That he has never kept them secret from those of his acquaintance who were thus attached; but took pains, and found great difficulty, whilst among the Rebels, to conceal them: that he has submitted many of them to the persual of Lt.-Col. Watson of the Guards, who has occasionally made his own remarks on them.

I directed the Town Major and Capt. Ady to attend him to the house of Rev. Mr. Brown; he there opened for their inspection a large trunk, which contained nothing but some few newspapers, some garden seeds and other trifles. He also put into their hands a bundle of papers containing certificates etc. relative to his having been imprisoned and otherwise ill-used for his attachment to the Government. They likewise found a small trunk, which he had put into the care of Mr. Brown, which they brought me. It was opened and examined in my presence, and contained a great number of manuscripts, the general purport of which appears to be a sort of irregular Journal of America, and a State of the Times some years back interspersed, with occasional remarks, Philosophical and political. The tendency of the latter is to favor the side of Government, and to throw odium on the proceedings of the opposite party, and upon the tyranny of their Popular Government. I have therefore ordered the trunk to be sealed up in my own presence, to be disposed of as Sir Henry shall think proper.

It was disposed of by returning it to St. John, when he finally sailed for Europe in 1780, to be shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, where he spent the winter of 1780–81. The papers it contained were in part those published at London by Davies in the spring of 1782 — the publisher paying thirty guineas for what went into the edition of that year, "with promise of a present, if the public likes the book." Other papers from the trunk

were used when St. John translated it into French, as he did in 1782–84, partly in France and partly on his return to New York as French consul there in November, 1783. Still other papers, with later notes and compilations, went into the second series of three volumes which were offered to Davies in English after their publication in Paris by Maradan in French in 1801. But Davies found the book too "philosophical" and with too much the air of fiction; and it has never yet been translated into English. Thereby much valuable matter is lost to American readers, as is the case also with much that the three French volumes of the *Letters* contain.

In those six French volumes the conversion of a Tory to an American patriot fully appears. In the English *Letters* the hardships of a frontiersman are set forth as a loyalist would feel them, and as St. John and the Tippet family, who were also loyalists, did feel them. But St. John's imprisonment in the Provost prison of New York, by British orders, opened to him another chapter in the war then going on; and the alliance of the colonies with France revived his interest in his native country, which he had practically abandoned forever, when he came to Philadelphia about 1763, as I compute the years, and began his rambles about the colonies, Canada and the British West Indies. He may have visited Canada, by way of Lisbon, after the great earthquake of 1755, as his descendants believe.

If we compare the long chapter in the English edition of the *Letters*, published at London in 1782, with the translation into French (published in Paris in 1784, and afterwards reprinted, with corrections, in 1787), very marked omissions and additions will appear, all showing the author's change of mind. In the English original form the author proposes to remove with his family to an Indian village, far to the westward, and apparently beyond Lake Erie. There he plans to bring up his children among peaceful Indians, who will not live entirely by hunting and fishing, but will receive from him some instruction in agriculture, to which he says he has devoted himself from his first coming to the colonies. For nineteen years, he says, he has lived by farming and land surveying — allowing nine years of the twenty-eight he had then been in America, assuming that he came over in 1754 — for his mercantile and rambling life among the colonists and Indians. But as he dates this chapter,

in the French translation, at Orange County, September 15, 1779, when in fact he was in the British Provost prison at New York, it is probable that he wrote it in 1778, before he went into the city on his way to France; and his reckoning of years ceases to have any value. Indeed, he has given so many different dates for his presence here and there in various parts of our North American continent, that we must make up our chronology of his first thirty years (1735–65) by our own reckoning from what is most probable. After 1765 we know with tolerable certainty where he was and what he was doing.

In the French version of his *Frontiersman*, he blames England for the inroads of the savages, and takes decidedly the tone of an American patriot, as unquestionably he was, after 1780. I doubt if any of his numerous editors and translators has ever compared carefully the English original of 1782 with the French version. The 231 pages of Dutton's New York English edition of 1912 were expanded by St. John into 1500 French pages in his three-volume edition of 1787. The three French volumes of 1801 (*Journey in North Pennsylvania and New York State*), contain 1272 pages, exclusive of errata and indexes; so that a copious author of nearly 3000 pages has usually been criticised from a cursory perusal of about a tenth part of what he published.

This work, later published by St. John, includes some of his earlier and some of his later American experiences, as well as facts or anecdotes collected by this unwearied observer and compiler, from the narrative and the conversation of his many friends, and from the American newspapers of his 18th century; during which he was almost the exact contemporary of General Washington. He was born nearly three years after Washington, who died just before the end of his century, while St. John lived thirteen years into the 19th, as did Count Rumford, who was his intimate acquaintance in Bavaria, and afterwards in Paris. Under a slight veil of harmless fiction I incline to think some of the unrevealed years of St. John's earlier life were there recorded. There is, for instance, a fragmentary story of a certain John de Braganza, born in England in 1740 and educated at Leyden, Holland, who accidentally finds himself in Lisbon, and is introduced by an Englishman above a hundred years old, to his father of the same name, who is a Portuguese

monk, but born in England, of an English mother and a prince of the royal family of Portugal. This monk had been a lieutenant in the British navy, but was recalled to Portugal by the king and compelled to reside there as a monk of Cintra, while his son takes the name of Brinker, goes from Holland to Brazil, and thence to Alexandria in Virginia, and finally is found by St. John a farmer in Indiana. The date of his adventure in Lisbon is 1759, four years after the great earthquake, and not far from the time when St. John, at the age of twenty-one, may have been himself in Lisbon, as his descendants believe. From England, where he was then living (at Salisbury) he may well have gone to Holland, and from there to Lisbon, and back again, in short voyages, before he crossed the ocean to be a merchant in Pennsylvania and a land surveyor at Shippensburg and at Carlisle, in that Quaker colony from which he dated his early letters. On the other hand, these chapters may have been fragments of a novel which he had begun but was never able to finish. They show an acquaintance with the scenery of Lisbon, Cintra and the Tagus, such as he displays in portraying the banks of the Hudson, and those other American regions which he describes so fluently.

Among the additions made by St. John to the two first volumes of his French version of 1784 (*The Letters*) in the third volume of 1787, is the highly interesting account of the finding and adoption by Gustavus Fellowes of Boston of the orphan children of St. John in Chester of Orange County in the winter of 1781–82, while their father was still in France. This was translated and included by me in my paper of 1906. But I then omitted the brief letter of Letombe, the French consul at Boston, in November, 1783, to St. John, then supposed to be in Paris, but who had in fact reached New York and had heard of his wife's death, but not where his children were. Here is the letter:

Boston, November 24, 1783.

Dear Sir;

Not being able to learn from any one here where you are, I have the honor of addressing my letter to you at Paris, whence I see that you have written to the editor of the *Courier de L'Europe*, and I hope this may reach you. I write with the intention of giving you tidings of your dear children. Unfortunately it is only within a

few days that I learned they had reached Boston, by M. le Comte Wegiersky, who is travelling under the name of Platon — that young Polish noble having heard of them in Boston, with interesting particulars. He therefore proposed to go with me to the home of Mr. Fellowes, where they live.

Arrived at his residence, we were shown into a neat room, where we found nine children. The hostess prepossessed us greatly by her gentle face and her motherly mien. She was suckling one child, and serving tea to the rest.

"Madam, have you here the two children of a Frenchman named St. John?" "Yes Sir."

"Where may they be?" "Here is Miss Fanny, his daughter, and on that sofa lies his son Louis, who is feverish."

"Have they been a long time with you?" "About a year and ten months; it happened this way: Mr. St. John, whom we never met, had rendered important service in France to some of our friends, escaped from an English prison. My husband, Captain Fellowes, hearing that his children were in a region wasted by Indian savages, the other side of Hudson's River, set out to find them. Ah, it was a good idea! For where did he find them? Over in York State, among strangers, poor, almost naked, and in all kinds of misery."

"Truly you tell of two noble deeds, Madam! but you had a large family before." "Yes, thank God, we had seven children, and these two make nine of ours. I say nine — because these two are ours now; perhaps their father is no more."

At this remark Louis began to cry; we called him to us and caressed him, assured him that you are alive, and will soon come to Boston. Miss Fanny began to weep too; pretty soon the mother's eyes overflowed; the other children wept, and so did we.

From other sources I learn that Capt. Fellowes is one of our best citizens; just now one of the Selectmen of Boston, and last year a member of the General Court. I am going to see him as soon as he gets back from Newbury; and shall take pains to give you all needful information about your children. Most truly Yours,

A Monsieur St. John. De Letombe.

St. John about the same time received back from England the letter which Captain Fellowes had sent from Boston in the winter of 1781–82, informing St. John, then supposed to be in England, of the death of his wife, the rescue of his two children and their presence in Boston. From this time forward, though he had many anxieties and alarms, for himself, his children and his friends, during the storm of the French Revolution

he had always around him good and warm friends, who were able to protect him from its worst excesses.

A page or two in his *Journey in Pennsylvania and New York*, written about 1799, but relating events during his first year or two in America, will indicate to what risks he was exposing himself in his early wanderings, even if he had not the additional risk of war. It appears to be a genuine statement of facts, and it authenticates much that has sometimes been disputed. He wrote:

Several years ago, in a birch-bark canoe, paddled by two Abenaqui Indians of Lower Canada, I had the misfortune to be overset at high water on the St. Lawrence, which we had just successfully crossed at the Long Rapids, (near the Thousand Isles). The first snows had begun to fall — without axes, or means to light a fire, compelled to eat raw fish that we had contrived to catch, we decided to travel south; and, for fear of getting lost in the woods, to keep the river in sight on our left hand. Half-dead with cold, fasting and exhausted, we were on the third day of this painful march, and were eating the last bits of our last fish, when, to our great delight, we thought we saw in the distance faint indications of a smoke. It was a large village of Christian Mohawks, at the mouth of the Oswegatchie river, at present within the bounds of the United States. At our cry of distress some Indians from this village came out to see who we were. Touched with our misery, they conducted us in silence inside the village, and put us in three separate families. It chanced that I, being white, was conducted to him who was both the senior and the sachem of the settlement. Taking me by the hand, and giving me to smoke the great pipe of the family, he said, "From whatever place you come, be welcome! Rest on this bearskin, warm yourself, and take food!" He spoke a little French and English; his household was four women and three men.

The next day when he had learned whence I came and whither I would go, he said to me — "Winter is coming on, as you see; the Great River has floating ice; our river is skimmed over; it is impossible to get down to Montreal before Spring. Lay off the few garments you have left, and dress yourself as we do; our people will like you better." Hardly had I consented, with a clasp of the hand, than the women came up eagerly, and, with much merriment cut my hair and painted my face, bringing me what I needed to wear. They did not forget to give me a name. After a few days' practice, I found myself as well lodged, fed and clad, as if I had been among my friends at Montreal. Such changes we endure with ease when we

are young. Like the rest, I went fishing night and morning; now through the ice, now with hook and line, according to the degree of cold and the depth of snow, and was proud enough that I could help fill the family chowder-kettle. We had besides abundance of maize and potatoes; for since this tribe turned Christian, they tilled their land with more care and some forethought. With the inner bark of the birch I made me a big book, in which I wrote down with care all their words of which I guessed the meaning. This seemed to give them as much pleasure as if I had done them a real service.

How St. John got away from these Christian savages he does not tell. The year must have been 1764, just after the Conspiracy of Pontiac, of which he gives an account in an earlier chapter of this same third volume of the *Journey*, etc. The two chapters confirm me in the belief that his father was correct in naming 1763–64 as the first date of his reaching Pennsylvania. But he may have been earlier in Canada, as his family suppose.

A much later adventure brought St. John and his European friend Herman, with whom he often, says he, journeyed, into acquaintance with the celebrated surveyor-general of New York, De Witt, who gave those singular classical names to towns and villages in the state which employed him to lay them out and so arrange them in lots of different sizes that they could be allotted to discharged soldiers, immigrants or purchasers from any part of the world. St. John and Herman were the guests of Chancellor Livingston at Clermont-on-the-Hudson; and under the guidance of a young land surveyor recommended by him, they went into the region, then almost unsettled, about Cayuga and Seneca lakes, where De Witt was then at work on the lands of the "Military Concession," which were to give the New York soldiers of the Revolution their "Bounty Lands."

It was decided to go as far as New Geneva, at the north end of lovely Lake Seneca, 35 miles from Lysander, whence it would be easy to return by the new government road to Schuyler, or to Palatine on the Mohawk. We were to traverse the townships of Brutus, Cato and Aurelius, the Cayuga Reserve, and Romulus, bathed by the waters of Seneca Lake. Reaching Brutus, our landlord said, "What a pity that you were not here a day sooner! you would then have met the surveyor-general, Andrew Dewitt."[1]

"Does he live here?" "His offices are at Albany; at this moment

[1] It was Simeon De Witt (1756–1834).

he is at Tully, 30 miles off, on a branch of Owego river, finishing the subdivision of this great Military Concession, . . ."

From New Geneva we went by water to Ovid, 20 miles south, in the only brig on Seneca Lake, whose name it bears. Thence we came to Cayuga Lake, only two miles wide, five leagues east of Seneca. Thence we crossed the towns of Milton, Locke and Sempronius, and finally reached Tully, where the surveyor-general was encamped.

Four tents, pitched in the shade of great oak-trees, contained in one of them several persons drawing off the subdivisions of the general plan of the Bounty Lands. "Is it in this mode," said Mr. Herman, "that all these lands are surveyed?" "First," said Mr. Dewitt, "the limits of these patents are determined and marked by durable boundaries; then we divide them into Townships of six miles square containing 23,500 acres. Each of these districts is then divided into 36 lots of a mile square each containing 640 acres. This wise method came to us from the surveyors of Connecticut and Massachusetts — it was unknown here before the Revolution."

"Why have Greek and Roman names been given to these Townships?"

"Our military men," was the answer, "having great veneration for the old heroes and other great personages of Greece and Rome, sent me this list.

"In a few years hence, the tourist will be able to breakfast with Hannibal, dine with Lysander, and lodge with Camillus; tomorrow you could do as much for Fabius, Homer and Virgil. Surely it would be difficult to travel in better company.

"For my part, the idea gave me singular pleasure; it recalls to memory a crowd of events in those old times, whose history was the delight of my childhood. I am pleased at the happy chance which allowed me to replace, in the memory and the mouth of men, names so worthy of respect, by giving them to portions of a continent, of which the philosophers of Greece and Rome had not the slightest idea."

The date of this journey must have been about 1791, if it ever took place, for St. John had the habit, in his years of the French consulate at New York, of regarding himself as in New York when he was actually in France, as he was usually from July 1790 to his dismissal from office in 1792.[1] The exact date of De Witt's field service in the lands around Seneca and Cayuga

[1] Dr. W. W. Keen writes to Dr. J. Collins Warren, December 28, 1916: "The list of members of the American Philosophical Society shows that among those elected January 16, 1789, was M. St. John Crèvecœur, consul of France at New York."

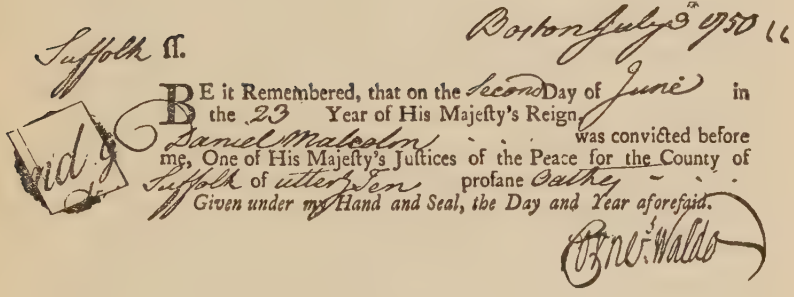
lakes is unknown to me; but the observations which St. John reports as his own, are so strikingly like those which we know he made from actual presence on the spot, that he must have made them over into his own attractive style. Since Defoe, and until we encounter Thoreau in the fields of literature, there is no better describer, within the limits of reality, than St. John de Crèvecœur.

St. John de Crèvecœur died at his son-in-law, Otto's, house at Sarcelles in France in November, 1813, not having quite reached the age of seventy-eight. He never fully recovered from a weakness of the heart resulting from the hardships and exposures of his imprisonment by both sides, in the years 1779–80, during our Revolution, but especially by the British. He was in fact friendly to both sides, and to the Indians who burnt his two houses in New Jersey and New York — a friend to mankind in general, if ever a man was. He will be remembered for his virtues and his philanthropic genius, allying him to Franklin and to Thoreau.

The writings of Crèvecœur practically now constitute three distinct works — the two three-volume books in French and the original English book, on which the others were founded; together with several separate tracts or treatises, which might be added to the English publication of 1782, to increase its bulk and better classify its material. Though a good observer and narrator, St. John was not a good editor; and he must have been considerably aided, both in English and in French, in bringing his style to what it ultimately became after passing through the press. I fancy his friend William Seton, who was more carefully educated than St. John, must have assisted in revising the first volume for the press; and several of his enthusiastic French literary contemporaries did as much for the six French volumes and the treatises, or narrations. It would well repay some one who has the literary gift and art to edit the second of the three-volume works and put its rich but ill-arranged contents before our countrymen in English of the twentieth century, with notes and illustrations. The historian of Massachusetts, Connecticut or New York — perhaps of Pennsylvania too — can find much to animate and illuminate his own work in these well-observed and well-preserved evidences of what was occurring a century and a half ago.

St. John has become and will remain one of the few good American authors of the eighteenth century; and it should be the task of this twentieth century to place him and his literary work in their best light before the region that he so assiduously traversed, and of which he gleaned so much.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. FORD, J. C. WARREN, DAVIS and MINOT.


Suffolk ss. Boston July 3d 1750

BE it Remembered, that on the Second Day of June in the 23 Year of His Majesty's Reign Daniel Malcolm was convicted before me, One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Suffolk of utter Son profane Oathes

Given under my Hand and Seal, the Day and Year aforesaid.

Jnº Waldo

MEMOIR

OF

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.

By WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Frederick Lewis Gay, ninth in descent from John Gay, the first of the family in New England, was born in Boston, October 28, 1856. It is not unusual to show a continued residence in New England of one branch of a family from the first comer, and the Gays were wholly New England. John Gay settled at Watertown and became a freeman in May, 1635. With others of that town he founded the plantation of Dedham, was one of the original proprietors, removed and built a home in the new settlement. He married, about 1637–38, Joanna, said to have been widow of one Baldwicke. He died in 1688. His son Nathaniel (1643–1712) remained at Dedham, although given by the father lands in other parts, married Lydia Starr, of Charlestown, a niece of Eleazar Lusher, and died possessed of no little property to be divided among his six children. The youngest son, Ebenezer Gay (1696–1787) was pastor of the First Parish at Hingham for sixty-nine years, "the honoured patriarch," says Savage, "of our New England pulpit in that age." An elder brother of Ebenezer, Lusher Gay (1685–1769), lived and died at Dedham, cultivating a farm, known as the "Clapboard Trees," which had been left him by his father. He married Mary Ellis of Dedham. His son Lusher (1716–1803) removed in 1738–39 to Thompson Parish, Killingly, Connecticut, to occupy a tract of land deeded to him by his father. By his first wife, Mary Colburn, of Dedham, he had a son, also named Lusher (1740–78), who passed his short life at Thompson, marrying Judith Green of that place. Their first born son, Willard (1761–1831), returned to Dedham where he

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Fredrick Lewis Gay.

INSTITUTE
OF
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filled a high position in the financial interests of the town, being the first president of the Dedham Bank. A son by his first wife Sarah Colburn, named George (1790–1843) resided in Boston, marrying Nancy Lovering. His son, George Henry (1823–1878), of Boston, graduated from Harvard College in 1842, and received a degree of M.D. in 1845. For twenty-three years he was visiting surgeon at the Massachusetts General Hospital. He married Elizabeth Greenough Lewis, daughter of Winslow and Emeline (Richards) Lewis, and his eldest son was Frederick Lewis Gay, the subject of this memoir. In each generation there were large sized families, wide connections and in two of the Eastern States.[1]

Mr. Gay had that usual experience of a Boston boy, a training in the Boston Latin School, as a member of the class of 1868, and he later passed to Harvard College, entering the class of 1878. He did not complete his course (receiving his degree in 1903), but went to the Harvard Medical School with the intention of following his father's profession. Again he left the school before taking a degree, and being offered a position in the administrative department of the Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fé, he removed to Chicago, where its central offices were situated. His classmate at college, Emmons Blaine, was in the same office. For about two years he remained in this service, and married, June 5, 1889, Josephine, daughter of Aaron W. and Josephine (Vila) Spencer, of Boston. The Chicago of that day, a great, overgrown, sprawling railroad centre of the West, was of the greatest interest sociologically, being the meeting place of east and west, and wholly devoted to business interests. Growing rapidly in population and in wealth much was wanting in artistic development. Activity rather than solid performance supplied its dominant characteristic, a strident, feverish energy, marvellous to behold, but appealing little to one who had a leaning, as yet undeveloped, to research in directions where such energy could not produce good results. In a time of transition the great city had not yet found its proper footing, since exemplified in its University, its libraries, its museums, and its cultivation of art and literature.

It was inevitable that in time Gay should return to the East,

[1] See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXXIII. 45.

for his tastes were not developing in the West, and required the environments of Boston to encourage. The retirement of Emmons Blaine in 1888 supplied the opportunity. Still a young man, Gay had as yet chosen no particular field for what was within his capacity. The practice of medicine had ceased to be seriously considered, and railroad administration could not give permanent employment to him, offering interesting experience and associations, but a decided interruption to self-development. He came back to Boston, therefore, without definite plans, when, as is so apt to be the case, a chance turned him into a regular line of occupation, one which required only time and industry to become a master passion. Both time and industry he possessed, for he was independent in means and only needed the stimulating suggestion for directing his industry.

His grandfather, on his mother's side, was Dr. Winslow Lewis (1799–1875), a pupil of Dr. John C. Warren, and his successor as consulting physician in the Massachusetts General Hospital. Of scholarly tastes, he gathered a select library outside of books on medicine, containing many of the classics and a number of books on European travels. A good part of this library passed by will to Gay, and furnished a foundation for a general library. But general collecting did not appeal strongly to him and he early and wisely began to specialize. By concentrating in a few lines, he was saved the waste of effort and money which inevitably follows a too ambitious or ill directed scheme of book gathering — as if the individual can any longer undertake to compete with the public or university libraries!

Genealogy, so frequently used as a stepping stone to more serious studies, first attracted his attention. The result in print was not ambitious, taking the form of a paper in the *New England Historic Genealogical Register* in 1879, on "John Gay, of Dedham, Massachusetts, and some of his Descendants." In later time this investigation of family was continued, and he was greatly aided by his brother, Dr. Warren Fisher Gay. The result exists in manuscript only — thoroughly and conscientiously done, but clothed with the restricted interest which inevitably applies to genealogical compilations. While engaged upon it he became interested in the

wider field of local history. His family had long been inhabitants of Dedham, and naturally he found much in the history of that reputable town requiring explanation. All local history, in the detail of its earlier history, offers problems to the historian, problems which some have carried back to earliest Britain or savage Germany for solution. To collect what printed matter he could on Dedham followed consistently this new suggestion, and in time he found that a surprising number of issues by the local press had been made. Most of these he succeeded in placing upon his shelves.

Here again he soon found the field too restricted for his rapidly developed desires, and he entered with ardor on the field occupied by many in a general way, but by few in an intelligently restrained or concentrated manner — early New England history. Compared with others he entered this field late, but compared with most of his competitors he was remarkably successful in obtaining what he required. He did not lose himself in Mathers, in election sermons, in almanacs or in primers and catechisms. His wish as it grew by experience each year led him to desire a balanced collection, one which would not be a copy or imitation of so many collections in private keeping, and one which would express definite tastes on lines calculated to add to the stores of the public collections within Boston. The result indicates at once the wisdom of the policy and the success which attended it.

His printed books have fittingly gone to the library of Harvard University, a gift from Mrs. Gay and Dr. W. F. Gay and Ernest L. Gay. Numbering more than four thousand volumes, and almost wholly printed in the seventeenth century, the Gay collection has strengthened in numbers and in quality what was already in the University Library. The full value of the gift time only can develop; but it certainly will not decrease, and the student will in it find titles not elsewhere available to him in the United States.[1]

The pleasures of book collecting have been sung in many keys; but none is greater than that which comes from a small beginning, a constant and consistent growth, and a final re-

[1] A brief account of the gift, by G. P. Winship, is printed in the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XXIX; another on special features, by F. W. Coburn, is in the *Boston Transcript*, Nov. 25, 1916.

sult in numbers and in quality. It is possible to buy by the pound — or ton — the life collections of an enthusiast who has put his all into his hobby; but that cannot equal the delight of a gradual accumulation, where the contents of the books are read, noted and brought into relation, where one discovery leads by intention to another, and where the accidental discovery of a new title, of unknown contents and of unexpected relations, opens new paths for investigation or offers problems to be solved as the material gathers. The collection is gradually rounded out in volumes and their personal and historical richness is developed as they are brought together, until a surprising completeness is attained, thickly sprinkled with questions as yet unsolved, but on the verge of yielding the answers. Gay had tasted deep of these higher pleasures of collecting. He bought with certainty, for he knew what he wanted; he was familiar with the contents of his books, because he studied them carefully for his special needs, and while satisfying himself, he sought to note what would be of assistance to others. He saw his collections, special and general, grow, aiming at that perfection which served as an end, but which no one knew better than he, could never be attained.

Printed books satisfied the old time collector, and an occasional purchase of original manuscripts usually resulted in burying in forgetfulness what such chance buying brought. Gay decided to buy sparingly of original manuscripts, not because of the increasing prices, but because he realized that however extensively he might collect, his manuscript stores could not equal in interest his printed material. Eager for what was truly of historical value, he recognized that a transcript of a state paper, of a private letter or of a newspaper reference, would serve his ends perfectly, and enable him to place upon his shelves whatever of the British Museum or Public Record Office he found on his particular interests. Before the Library of Congress had entered upon its great undertaking of obtaining transcripts from these sources Gay had begun to call for copies of documents on New England, and steadily pursuing this purpose he had received enough to make fifty-nine volumes of such transcripts. No other such extensive undertaking exists in private hands, for, apart

from a few historians, it has usually been left to societies or to state authorities to carry out similar projects, resulting in much duplication of records and expense for want of proper supervision or co-operation. Gay did more than to obtain these transcripts. Recognizing that no one investigator could exhaust their interest, he determined to make them accessible to any one properly qualified to use them. He prepared and printed a list of them in *A Rough List of a Collection of Transcripts relating to the History of New England, 1630–1776*, Brookline, 1913, and the spirit controlling this generous act may best be shown by the following extract from the "note:" "The fifty-six volumes covered by this list were gathered together with various objects in view, hence the apparent lack of set purpose in their selection. Such as they are, they are now at the service of those who receive this book from me. Sooner or later they will be given to a library where they can be more freely used by a wider circle of students." These transcripts have been presented to this Society as noted in this volume of *Proceedings*, p. 38, *supra*.

Nor was his generosity confined to these transcripts. The printed proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the Colonial Society show how liberal he was in calling attention to interesting incidents, in supplying the material for their treatment, and in permitting the credit to be absorbed by another. A tireless worker, he read what he purchased, made copious notes on what he read, and gathered the notes in well ordered notebooks, which he placed without question at the disposal of any one he could interest in using what he had painfully gathered, or in completing what his fastidious attention to detail and knowledge of possible sources taught him could not yet appear in a final form. His rarest volumes, his elaborate notes, and, best of all, his friendly and sympathetic encouragement, were at the call of those whom he trusted as fellow laborers in his chosen field. Such generosity is rare, and in him was natural and attractive, free from a jealousy of discovery or a craving for sole possession. Favored by his opportunity and success, he stood ready so far as in him lay to advance the study of New England history, without prejudice and with a certain largeness of conception which made him an extremely suggestive helper to the groping, half-

informed delver as well as to the well informed and highly trained specialist. His collections offered as constant surprises as did his flashes of knowledge dug from the most out-of-the-way sources, frequently tempered by a strong sense of humor. Constant recurrence to his notebooks prevented his being swamped by his readings, and a retentive memory enabled him at once to seize upon the meaning and relations of what was laid before him for his judgment or opinion. The bibliographic instinct was strong in him, and no one could better have prepared a catalogue raisonnée of his collections. A true labor of love, he knew his books from within as from without.

It is only right to regard the promise of such a career as only partially fulfilled, for Gay had undertaken to do much outside of his collections, though in a measure connected with them. Some of these undertakings will be accomplished, and they must stand as examples of what he planned for future performance. In 1907 he prepared and printed the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Massachusetts Exhibit of Colonial Books at the Jamestown Exhibition*, a model of its kind. When an exhibition of early engravings in America was held in 1904, he issued a special edition of one hundred copies of the catalogue, an issue prized by collectors. Of his list of his transcripts from British sources, only seventy-five copies were printed from type. He bore the expense of transcribing and printing the earliest records of Harvard College, to be published by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and he aided in the issue of Eaton's *The Famous Mather Byles*. He issued a series of reproductions of Pelham mezzotints, ancient maps of New England, and had planned a publication by the Prince Society.

He printed comparatively little of his own historical studies, but a sufficient number may be found in historical publications to prove his decided talent for minute and accurate investigation, and the certainty of his conclusions. To the Colonial Society of Massachusetts he contributed the "Site of Governor Winthrop's House," [1] and a note on the Harvard "Board of Overseers created, 1642," [2] as well as the text of a number of original colonial papers. To the *Proceedings* of this Society he supplied some notes on "Gawen and Mather

[1] *Transactions*, III. 86. [2] *Ib.* XVII. 124.

Brown,"[1] with a portrait of the painter from his own collection; and a note on "Rev. Francis Marbury,"[2] father of Anne Hutchinson, in which he establishes the date of the marriage of Anne Marbury to William Hutchinson. In the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*[3] he argued so cogently for recognizing Nathaniel Eaton as the first supervising head of Harvard College as to lead to the notice of this hitherto neglected scholar in the *Quinquennial*.[4]

Among his gifts may be named: the original commission issued by Louis XIII to Charles de la Tour, as lieutenant governor of Acadia (1631). He signalized his interest in the centenary celebration of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester by presenting to that institution one of the more interesting contemporaneous records of earliest New England, the Carew manuscript of the "Records of the Council for New England, 1622–1623."[5]

His historical interests and collections received recognition from many societies and institutions. He was a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, the American Antiquarian Society, Club of Odd Volumes, Bostonian Society, and the historical societies of Dedham, Brookline and Marblehead. In 1914 he was appointed Curator of British and American Historical Tracts in Harvard College Library, and he was President of the Prince Society. Of social talents, he was a member of the Somerset and Tavern and Harvard Clubs of Boston, and his yachting tastes took him into the Boston Yacht Club and the Eastern Yacht Club at Marblehead, where he passed the summers. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, January 8, 1914.

He died at his residence in Brookline, after a short illness, March 3, 1916.

[1] *Proceedings*, XLVII. 289.
[2] *Ib.* XLVIII. 281.
[3] May 26, 1915.
[4] Of 1915, p. 8 *n.*
[5] *Am. Antiq. Soc. Proceedings*, XXII. 201, 237.

JANUARY MEETING, 1917.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts and purchases:

From Rev. Charles L. Hutchins, of Concord, through Mr. Lord, a photograph of John Tucker (1753–1825), first Clerk of the United States Supreme Court, and Junior Clerk and Clerk of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, from the original painting in the Clerk's office in the Capitol at Washington.

From Frank W. Bayley, a photograph of a painting of George III, by Mather Brown, signed and dated 1790, owned in 1916 in Philadelphia.

From the Merchants National Bank of Boston, a calendar showing a half-tone view of Christ Church, Salem Street, Boston, from an etching by Dwight Case Sturgis, 1916.

From Miss Ellen A. Stone, of Lexington, a piece of a beam from the Old Belfry, Lexington, from which the alarm was rung out on the morning of April 19, 1775, given by the widow of Isaac Parker, grandson of Capt. John Parker, commander of the minute-men on that day, to Miss Stone in 1886, when the building was still standing in the rear of the Parker homestead there.

From Daniel B. Updike, a colored view of the First Church at Lancaster, Mass., built in 1816 by Charles Bulfinch.

From Edward J. Cox, and Mrs. Lydia Colburn Wellington, a photograph from a daguerreotype, 1848–50, in the possession of Mr. Cox, of a group of lecturers in Horace Mann's Teachers' Institutes: Dana P. Colburn, great uncle and uncle respectively of the donors, Herman Kruzi, Jr., Arnold Guyot, Samuel S. Greene, Louis Agassiz, Barnas Sears, successor to Horace Mann, William Russell, and George B. Emerson.

From Mr. Norcross, the bronze medal, by Richard E. Brooks,

struck to commemorate American Relief for Belgium, 1915; and one of the new fifty-cent pieces.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of Queen Victoria at her Jubilee.

From Mr. Lodge, a photograph of the U. S. Submarine "K 6" in mid-act of launching at Quincy, Mass., 1914, and one of the Spanish submarine, "Isaac Peral," at her launching there in 1916.

Also a photostat view of the Old Suffolk Bank building, Tremont Street, in 1868, where the Historical Society had its home for many years, and of the Boston Museum, enlarged from a cut in the *Massachusetts Ploughman* of August 24, 1901.

Eleven badges and medals by purchase.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from William Keeney Bixby of St. Louis, Missouri, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck, a letter of Frederick Law Olmstead to her father, Col. Henry Lee, dated March 5, 1865, on military education.[1]

From Mr. Schouler, in behalf of Mr. James H. Fay, of Brookline, nine letters of William Everett to Mr. Fay, which he desires to be added to the Everett papers. The letters are characteristic and interesting.

From Dr. Warren, a transcript of Dr. John Warren's record of his service in the War for Independence, the original of which is in Dr. Warren's possession.

From Mr. Washburn, a series of letters of the highest historical importance, written to Jasper Mauduit, agent in London for the province of Massachusetts. On them Mr. Washburn made the following statement:

The papers relate to the Agency in London of the province of Massachusetts and concern two of the agents — William Bollan and Jasper Mauduit. Little is known of either man, and the names hardly occur in our standard histories. Bollan was a lawyer, who came to Massachusetts from England in 1740, and became agent of the colony in 1745. Mauduit is referred to in the third volume of Hutchinson's *History*. Bollan was a son-in-law of Governor William Shirley, who was governor of Massachusetts in 1741 and Commander of the British forces in

[1] See p. 168, *infra*.

America in 1755. While Shirley was in power, Bollan exercised much influence in England on the relations between the Province and Great Britain. He proved somewhat remiss in obtaining repayment to Massachusetts of the expenses of the French and Indian War, and Jasper Mauduit, Treasurer of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in New England, saw his opportunity, pressed the subject on the ministry and secured the grant.

In reward for his efforts, the Province appointed him agent in place of Bollan and associated with him in the agency a brother, Israel Mauduit. This arrangement continued until the War for Independence.

These papers concern the appointment and agency of Jasper Mauduit, being public and private letters sent to him from Massachusetts, dealing with a variety of public questions. The mere recital of the names of the writers will indicate the quality: Andrew Oliver, brother-in-law of Governor Hutchinson, in 1770 Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, for whose removal the Colony petitioned, eleven pieces; Thomas Hutchinson, royal Governor of Massachusetts; James Otis, three letters; Thomas Cushing, for several years Lieutenant-Governor, fifteen letters; Charles Chauncy, clergyman, three pieces; Andrew Eliot, minister of the New North Church in Boston, who, in 1768, sent to a friend in England an account of the effects of the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies; Jonathan Mayhew, minister of West Church in Boston, friend of Otis, who, in 1766, preached a sermon advocating a repeal of the stamp act, two letters; Harrison Gray, Treasurer and Receiver General of the Province, maternal grandfather of Harrison Gray Otis, eight papers.

The earlier in date of these papers relate to the army and navy accounts, muster rolls and service of Massachusetts men under Lord Amherst and Admiral Durell, with two of the formal statements of expenditures — for 1759 and 1761. Letters from William Bollan concern these accounts, the much discussed lotteries and "fee act," and describe the proceedings held upon it before the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; also the even more important "suspending clause" in laws passed by the General Court, on which there is an elaborate argument sent to Bollan for his instructions; and a communication trans-

mitting Bollan's account of the colonial history and policy. The appointment of Mauduit is described in letters from Chauncy, Otis, Mayhew, Oliver, and Cushing, relating to the various manœuvres of friends and opponents in the selection of himself and his brother in the agency, and official letters treat the questions pending between the General Court and the British Ministry and Parliament.

From Miss Annie H. Thwing, the results of many years' labor on the history of landed estates in Boston, from the earliest period. This truly notable accomplishment supplements the Bowditch "Titles" (MS.) now in the Society, giving us exceptional material on the history of Boston property, elaborately indexed. Its plan and scope are described in the following letter from Miss Thwing:

This work was begun many years ago as a pastime, with no thought that it would ever assume its present proportions, or become in any way public. It began with the desire to locate certain individuals, but that was found to be an almost impossible task without tracing back each estate. One lived in Bogg Lane, but no author seems to have heard of such a lane. This led to a study of the streets, and here again no book was found that gave the history of the streets back of 1708 when the streets were named for the first time.

The field has been well covered by many historians, but just the points wanted seemed to be missing, and much duplicate work had been done on others. An author often quotes from another without giving the original authority, thus in some instances perpetuating mistakes, and facts have been stated, the original source of which it would be interesting to know. To give one instance: Shaw in his *History*, page 58, says, "The Indians had a footpath over the highest part of the marsh or flats, which was raised and widened by a Mr. Crabtree to retain the water of the mill pond," the present Causeway St. There may be some MS. where this is stated, but thus far it has not been found.

Therefore, as a personal pleasure, a systematic study of the public records was begun. It was the original intention to put under one roof, so to speak, by a card catalogue, all the items of interest of each inhabitant. The Suffolk Deeds, the Probate Records, Massachusetts Archives in part, and Town Records have been thus copied. The Church Records, the Court Records, and Newspaper files will have to be left for another worker. Could the files at the State House be card catalogued as has been done in Concord, New Hampshire, much valuable information would no doubt be found which it is now im-

possible to sift out, and which would be of great assistance to historians.

As this work was not intended for publication there has been no comparison with the original authorities. That would now be too great a task, but as the authority has been named in every instance, with the date, it is an easy matter for one to look up any point where errors occur, and where accuracy is demanded. The Genealogical part is not complete but room has been left for additions, and it is hoped that those who consult this work will add such items of interest as they may find elsewhere.

The Bowditch Titles, in the possession of the Historical Society, have been of great assistance in confirming the results obtained.

This work consists of:

(1) A card catalogue of the inhabitants of Boston. There are upwards of one hundred thousand cards.
On each card is noted as far as found: Name of the inhabitant, Occupation, Date of birth and death, Name of parents, Marriage and name of wife's parents, Names of children and dates of birth, Public Offices held, Will, Abstract of deeds of his estate, if a property owner, and Items of interest.

(2) Twenty-two volumes of extracts of the deeds in the Suffolk Registry arranged according to streets, with the names of the owners in the Book of Possessions, those in the Tax List of 1798, and the Results, i. e. the estates traced as far as possible between these dates. All the transfers are not given in the Results, only such as to show the principal owners of the property. Others may be found in the succeeding sheets or in the card catalogue. There are some missing links, chiefly owing to the lack of knowledge of family connections which as yet have not been fully carried out, or because the deeds have not been recorded before the year 1800. The deeds have not been copied from a legal point of view, as placing the inhabitants, rather than the legality of the transfer, was the purpose.

(3) A volume of plans recorded among the deeds.

(4) A volume of MSS. and original deeds, many of which were contributed by Miss Minns.

(5) Two volumes giving the history of each street.

(6) Two volumes of miscellaneous items, the Town Records in a measure classified, Notes on Churches, Schools, Taverns, etc.

(7) Eighteen bound volumes of various publications.

(8) Fourteen drawers in which are placed maps and photographs. The maps are of intrinsic value only as showing the growth of the Town. The photographs are from old prints, or taken directly by amateurs or professionals.

Two years ago Miss Susan Minns became interested and kindly offered to provide assistants to copy the wills and deeds, and a type-

writer. It is to her that the public are indebted for the completion of the work at this time. Otherwise it would have taken some years to cover the ground.

Miss Alice E. Gould has done the greater part of the copying, and Miss Esther W. Lofgren all of the typewriting, besides helping in tracing back the estates.

Miss Minns also gave the oak case.

This work is now presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and if it will be a help to future earnest students of the history of the Old Town of Boston, and will help clear up some points as to the early history, I shall be content.

ANNIE H. THWING.

December, 1916.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of our fellow-member, Hon. George Sheldon, of Deerfield. Professor Hart spoke of Mr. Sheldon and his work, but reserves his remarks for the memoir.

Dean HODGES read a paper on

THE KAPPA DELTA OF CAMBRIDGE. 1804–1819.

At the December meeting the Society received as a gift from Mrs. Thomas Russell Sullivan a manuscript book containing the original minutes of an association of divinity students in Harvard University a hundred years ago. This fraternity, of which Mr. Sullivan's father had been a member, was called the Kappa Delta of Cambridge. The initials stood for Kerukon Didaskaleion, i.e., the School of Preachers. The record of proceedings begins in November, 1804, with a statement of the purpose of the Society. "As many advantages result from well-regulated associations, which cannot be derived from private study; we, the undersigned, having in view the work of the Gospel ministry, hereby form ourselves into a society for the purpose of mutual improvement in theological pursuits."

At that time the method of preparation for the ministry was that of private study. It is true that Harvard College had been founded for the education of ministers: "dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust." In pursuance of that inten-

tion, undergraduates were instructed in Hebrew; there was a commencement oration in that language as late as 1817. Indeed, Jared Sparks, who entered the college in 1811, had already studied Hebrew at Phillips Academy in Exeter. But Sidney Willard, the first president of the Kappa Delta, when, a few years later, he became Hancock Professor of Hebrew, says that his classes were very small; "a dispensation from studying being granted to such as preferred a written request from their parents."[1] The elective system in Harvard College had its rudimentary beginning in the election or non-election of Hebrew.

In further fulfilment of the original purpose of the college, instruction was given to undergraduates by the Hollis Professor of Divinity. But Professor Wigglesworth, who had "from time to time held a catechetical exercise on a lecture previously delivered by him upon some topic of positive or controversial divinity, which the Senior and Junior classes, as well as the resident graduates, were required to attend, found the catechizing and remarks so wearisome to the undergraduates that, with the consent of the college, he substituted for it portions of Doddridge's *Lectures on Pneumatology, Ethics and Divinity*, to be studied; in which the pupils were accordingly examined at stated times." And Professor Tappan, who succeeded him, gave a public lecture once a week, in which, says Willard, "he had a just estimation of his auditory, especially of the larger and younger part, and therefore never gave us cause to complain of the length of his discourses."

Graduating from the college with no more divinity than was thus imparted, the young man who intended to enter the ministry sought the parsonage of some learned and experienced pastor; or else, for the sake of the advantage of the library and of the company of his fellows, he stayed on in Cambridge as a resident graduate and studied by himself. He read Butler's *Analogy*, and Paley's *Evidences*, and Abernethy's *Discourses on the Being and Perfection of God*, and Leland's *Advantages of the Christian Revelation*, and Mosheim's *History of the Church*.

Under these casual conditions, no instruction being provided in the practice of preaching, eight young men as charter

[1] See *Proceedings*, XLIV. 534.

members of this fraternity, and some eighty others who came in during the ensuing fifteen years, endeavored to supply the deficiency by maintaining a homiletical department of their own. They formed an association for the purpose of hearing one another preach.

Dr. Abiel Holmes, the minister of the parish, was interested in the undertaking, and the minutes contain several references to his presence at the meetings. Dr. Kirkland, who became president of the college in 1810, used to come in to hear the young men's sermons. "Gentlemen in the study of theology" were eligible to honorary membership. The same privilege was extended to the Governing Boards; and at one time when the tides of interest were running low, "the secretary notified the government to attend, and they promising, the drooping spirits began to return." The society was mainly composed, however, of young men between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, who were preparing for the ministry; though not all of them entered the ministry, or, if they entered, continued in it. John Farrar became a teacher of Greek and Mathematics in the college, Ashur Ware became a District Judge in Maine, Samuel A. Eliot — father of President Eliot — became the college treasurer. The society gave three presidents to Harvard — Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, and James Walker. Everett and Walker, as secretaries, contributed many pages to these minutes. Other notable names in the list of members are Andrews Norton, Henry Ware, Jr., Nathaniel L. Frothingham, Francis W. P. Greenwood, John G. Palfrey, and Samuel J. May.

The weekly meetings were commenced with prayer, followed by a reading of Scripture. A suitable psalm or hymn was then read — "and sung if the society thinks it expedient." After that, there was delivered a discourse upon a passage of Scripture. The brethren then commented upon the prayer and the sermon; being required, however, in their observations on the prayer, to confine themselves to its faults. Thus, on one occasion, they debated how far it was wise to go in confessing, in the process of prayer, the sins of the congregation in detail. Again, "they discussed the question (in remarking upon the prayer) whether it be proper to introduce peculiar and disputed doctrines *in precise and definite language* into

prayer, when the same might be expressed in terms to which all present would agree." After the criticism of these exercises, or "performances," as the secretaries called them, any member might "communicate by writing or otherwise such important observations as have been suggested to him by reading and reflection, and propose for solution any difficult passage of Scripture." It was once voted that "in addition to the present services, each member in his turn be required to perform an extemporaneous exercise"; after a year's trial the extemporaneous exercise was abolished. But the reading of a dissertation was added to the order.

The monotonous routine of the minutes is enlivened at one point by the remarks of Secretary Henry Ware on the progress of a proposal to introduce into the meetings an exposition of a passage of Scripture.

> When the committee which was appointed to consider this matter reported, [says the Secretary], a long and animated debate ensued. In order to expedite matters, the report was divided into three parts, and the question upon each taken separately: (1) Shall there be such an exercise? Decided, after much discussion, in the affirmative. (2) What shall it be? After much difficulty, the following mode was agreed upon — a passage of Scripture shall be read by one of the members, as long or as short as he pleases, accompanied by observations to explain, or illustrate, or enforce; the method of doing it, and the kind and number of remarks shall be left entirely to himself. (3) Who shall do it? The committee had recommended the performer of the other exercises. This was strongly objected to, and the person who performed the previous week was fixt upon. A new difficulty then arose with respect to the time at which it should be performed. That it should take the place of the usual reading of the Scriptures was proposed, but objected to. Moved, that it be the last performance of the evening, — negatived. Moved, that it be the first, — negatived. The society having thus refused to give it any place, a motion was made for having it on a separate evening. But the session having been protracted to a very late hour, and the members being weary and confused, it was superseded by a motion to adjourn, which was accordingly done.

At another meeting, however, the society voted that the new exercise should be done "at the usual time of reading the Scriptures." But a week later,

those members who had opposed the introduction of the new exercise lest it should be a burden greater than they could bear, came forward and moved a reconsideration of the whole business. The discussion of the question was warm but short — for the advocates of the measure were convinced that it would do no good to force the means of improvement on those who were averse to using them. And they saw too that the majority were more influenced by desire of present ease and fear of present labor than by any very high sense of duty, or ambition of becoming eminent among the teachers of God's word. The former votes, however, were not entirely done away in form, though they will be so in effect. They were modified to read thus — that the members may, *if they please*, accompany the portion of Scripture which they read with remarks, and illustrations as before described.

The place of meeting was also a fertile subject of discussion. During the first five years the society met at Deacon Walton's, but in 1808 "Brother Torrey proposed that we should in future meet in his room at the Widow Treat's, the society being dissatisfied with Deacon Walton's bill for the present term." For a time thereafter they met in each other's rooms or houses. In 1816, the next month after the great debate on the reading of Scripture with comment, "a vote was passed, after full discussion, to reject a motion which had been made to hold our meetings in the Chapel of the University. On the following day, at the written request of three members according to law, a special meeting of the society was called by the president for the purpose of reconsidering the vote passed at the last meeting." This was done, and the society met in the chapel, except in the winter. As the cold days came on, they retreated to the lecture room, number eight, in University Hall. It was voted "that during this winter each member shall open the room and prepare a fire for the society at the meeting next after the one at which he performed." But in February "the secretary was directed to agree with Mr. Hunt to make the fire." It was voted at the same meeting that "in future during the performance, the members of the society shall place themselves in the seats opposite to the preacher." They finally abandoned the chapel altogether. "It had been erroneously supposed by some," says Secretary Greenwood, "and obstinately supported by others, that the

performer, finding himself in the Chapel pulpit, could display more of the orator and preach much better than in a tutor's desk. But the fact was that he did not preach half so well, feeling in such a spacious hall, with such a slim audience, as solitary and depressed as a lonely grasshopper upon a wide common."

The early sermons of the society, so far as their themes and texts represent them, had little reference to the controversy which was in vigorous progress at that time between the Liberals and the Orthodox in the Congregational churches. In 1806 they were, indeed, disputing, but without coming to any decision ("as usual," says the secretary) whether a man can truly love his neighbor unless he loves God. And in the same year they had "some animated conversation" on the question "whether reason has a right to judge and decide upon matters of revelation." But in 1808 they were still so secluded from the surrounding theological storm that "a long discourse took place concerning the use of the subjunctive mode, which terminated without decision."

In April, 1809, however, Brother Abbot read a disquisition on the lawfulness of worshipping Christ; and Brother Allen dealt with the same theme at the next meeting, the discussion being prolonged, the secretary says, "beyond our usual time for retiring." The hour of beginning the meeting was seven-and-a-third o'clock, and punctuality was secured by fining every tardy member twelve-and-a-half cents. In June, Brother Thacher questioned how far a diversity of opinion is consistent with a state of salvation.

By this time the department of homiletics had become a department of theology. Brother Sewall maintained that it was right to worship Christ; Brother Thacher read a dissertation to show that such worship is contrary to the Scriptures: "a very ingenious and candid performance this," says the appreciative Secretary, "as well as elegantly written." Brother Sanger delivered a sermon from the text, "Earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints." "After much freedom of remark, and some debate, adjourned. Brother Sanger made the concluding prayer." Brother Gannett turned the current of discussion for a moment by proving the eternity of future punishment. But Brother Everett took up

the prevailing theme again by "attempting," says the secretary, "to prove that there is no authority in Scripture for the Nicene doctrine that Christ is peculiarly the Son of God." Brother English objected, in a dissertation, to the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. Brother Abbot considered again the doctrine of the future state; but in the remarks which were made at length upon his sermon, "it was objected that his representation of feeling and sentiment upon the subject of a future life, and his accounts of the influence of the belief in it upon the mind, were too highly wrought and poetical."

The founding of a theological seminary, in 1808, at Andover, took away from the company of resident graduates in Cambridge such as were of the Orthodox party in the general contention, but there was left in the society a sufficient difference between conservative and radical minds to provide material for debate.

An animated discussion took place concerning the degree of evidence with which the Christian revelation is offered to us, occasioned by the preacher using the word 'probability' when speaking of its truth, which all agreed would be wrong to use before a common audience, though some contended that the evidence we have does not produce moral certainty. The subject was talked about until we got perfectly confused and lost in a wilderness of contradictory positions, assertions and illustrations, when it was thought advisable to adjourn.

The minutes show that theology continued to be the prevailing interest of the society for several years. The dissertations were more important than the sermons. This period may conveniently be bounded on the one side by the fourth anniversary, November, 1808, when Brother Nichols "showed the importance of theological knowledge to a clergyman, and the necessity of diligence in acquiring it, and of a hearty pious zeal in unfolding it to his people"; and on the other side by the eighth anniversary, November, 1812, when Brother Charles Eliot preached a sermon "in which some errors on the subjects of the character of God, the interpretation of the Scriptures, and the communicating of instruction from the pulpit were ingeniously, eloquently and seriously pointed out." For a time the dissertation, by vote of the society, was omitted, and

when it was restored some difficulty was found in getting members to prepare it. The sermons were concerned with practical religion: forgiveness of injuries, thanksgiving, the Spirit of Christ, Christian improvement, self-examination. Brother Samuel A. Eliot preached on the text, "Keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life."

With the passing of the years, and the consequent change in the membership of the society, the initial enthusiasm began to wane. In 1812, "the few brothers present deeply regretted that so many had neglected the assembling of themselves together; but it was presumed that the absent members were necessarily detained." This charitable presumption was not extended so far, however, as to cover Brother Folsom's absence from a subsequent meeting. "Brother Folsom, who should have preformed, did not make his appearance; as this was the thirteenth evening since his first appointment to this service, therefore voted unanimously that he be forever after excused from all future trouble on its account." Secretary Edward Everett, in 1813, apologizes for the omission of the minutes of many meetings by saying that "the small number of the members during the last term rendered it a labor without profit to make a record of the meetings." He adds, however, that "at the opening of the present term the numbers of the society were increased."

Interest in the meetings was still so active in November, 1816, that a subscription paper was carried around to the several members "to ascertain the opinion of the society upon the propriety of having two meetings a week instead of one. A great majority was found in favor of that alteration, and it was therefore ordered that this society convene every Tuesday and Friday." At the next meeting — after a sermon on the reverence due to the Sacred Scriptures, which was followed, says Secretary James Walker, by "a very spirited debate in which much was said to very little purpose — it was moved to reconsider the vote passed at the last meeting requiring the society to meet twice a week; and, to the astonishment and confusion of the steady friends of that law, it was reconsidered and exploded by an overwhelming majority."

"In the course of the conversation which followed Brother Greenwood's sermon (Dec. 16, 1816), the society signified

their decided approbation of a solemn, impressive style of preaching, and expressed a desire that no grounds of complaint might any longer exist in the candidates of this place on the score of coldness in the performance of religious services." "After Brother Brook's sermon (May 12, 1815) many opinions were discussed respecting emphasis in prayer. Something of the monotone which approaches but does not reach a tone was supposed best by Bro. Rev. H. Ware of Boston, who favored us with his company and remarks. So in reading the Scriptures, the same impressiveness of calm effort is highly preferable to deep studied emphasis." At another meeting, "After many wise remarks, nothing to the purpose, how 'doeth' should be pronounced, the society voted that no brother should be allowed in future to read a prayer." And again, later, "a few remarks on the worn-out subject of pronunciation, and on the propriety of gesture with the left hand closed the meeting." "Brother Eliot gave a very judicious sermon on the characteristic discoveries of Christianity. Some remarks were made upon the great importance of divisions in sermons. They were regarded as eminences from which the surrounding country could be viewed." On another occasion, "after the sermon the members of the society conversed nearly an hour upon the propriety of a preacher's quoting poetry." Again, the secretary says, "the sermon was instructive, and the debate, though very little concerned with the sermon, which the brothers entirely overlooked in their zeal to discuss matters and things in general, was nevertheless amusing, and not wholly destitute of profit to the silent auditors."

The records make no mention of any political discussion in the meetings. It was voted, however, in 1816, "that all business of a secular nature, i.e., which may not be regularly expected to come before the society, shall be transacted at other meetings than those which are held for devotional purposes. The reason of the regulation is that our feelings may not be improperly exercised or our minds unnecessarily occupied on subjects averse to religious sentiments." The only political note in the book is a postscript added by Edward Everett to the minutes for March 3, 1813. "Gov. Gerry gives a dinner tomorrow in honour of his being chosen Vice-President of the U. S. A. 'Culprits hang, that Presidents may dine.'"

In March, 1819, the secretary, Charles Brooks, records in the minutes that "the regular meetings of the society have been prorogued for the last two weeks as the regular performer was neither prepared, nor able to procure a substitute, and for the same reason there was no preaching this evening." In May, "the secretary being absent, nothing but the key could be found, no candles, no tinder-box, no charity or patience." In September, "Brother Fessenden again disappointed us, and we agreed that he should dissolve his connection with a society which so little interested him. Thus," adds the secretary, "commenced a series of difficulties, delinquencies and misunderstandings which shook to its base the K. D." He is not, however, in despair. The "government," being appealed to, begin to attend the meetings. Indeed, the last word of the last minute is an expression of good hope. The society "has had burdens which are happily taken from it."

How far these anticipations were fulfilled, this book of records does not show. There remained but one blank page, and this the secretary occupied with an affectionate apostrophe to the book itself:

> Venerable record! Fifteen years hast thou noticed the young efforts of those who have been here, but who on leaving have forgotten thee, the only footsteps that many have left. If difficulties have threatened, you faithfully tell their origin and influence, and may succeeding disciples take lessons from your experience. It has been your lot to accompany a band of brothers through a toilsome pilgrimage; and though you have been partaker only of their best enjoyments and happiest moments, you have too often found the one alloyed, the other short. . . . And now farewell! As I have last presided in your meetings, I now, by authority vested in me, adjourn you *sine die*.

Mr. THAYER, first Vice-President of the American Historical Association, spoke on the annual meeting of that association at Cincinnati, in December, 1916.

Mr. RHODES read a chapter from a forthcoming volume on the Civil War.

Dr. SHATTUCK communicated a series of letters from Timothy Dix and his son, John Adams Dix, written to Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck. The letters indicate the close relations ex-

isting between the families, and describe a period of Dix's career lightly passed over in the biography by Dr. Morgan Dix.

From Timothy Dix, Jr.[1]

Rendezvous, Concord, June 29th, 1812.

Dear Sir, — It is with considerable reluctance I assure you that we so soon part with Adams.[2] Mrs. Dix[3] and two of his sisters are very desirous of acquiring some knowledge of the French language, and fear they shall not again have so good an opportunity. I wish Adams to pay some attention to arithmetic and elocution, and as much attention as possible to the Spanish language. I wish by all means that he may have as much knowledge of that as he has of the French; I wish you to procure such articles of clothing, books, etc., as he may need and I will settle the bills on sight, he will not need much clothing for several months except shoes and handkerchiefs. I should be very unwilling that he should spend any time with the boys in the streets or commons, however I need not dictate [to] you relative to his treatment, but cheerfully submit all to your superior judgment. May he not have one or two pupils in the French language out of your family, so as to earn enough to meet all his bills? I believe there can be no objection but his want of years. So far as I have been able to determine I think he has a grammatical knowledge of the language. Should I be called into the service of my country (as I expect soon to be) it will be necessary that I make the most prudent distribution possible of my small funds for supporting my

[1] (–1813), at one time a storekeeper at Boscawen, N. H. His grandfather, Jonathan (1710–1804), had married Sarah, daughter of Rev. Benjamin Shattuck, of Littleton, Mass.

[2] Young Dix had entered the family of Dr. Shattuck in June, 1812. The father was then in Baltimore, recruiting, having been transferred from a New Hampshire regiment to a corps to be raised in Maryland. Of this period General Dix writes in his Autobiography: "On my return from Montreal I was sent to Boston, and placed in the family of Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, a distant relative of the family, and one of the most eminent physicians of that city. . . . He spared time from an extensive practice to hear my recitations in Latin, and he engaged several personal friends to give me instruction in other studies. Nathan Hale, editor of the *Boston Advertiser*, gave me lessons in mathematics; Señor Sales, afterwards Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard University, in Spanish; and Captain Morse, of the new levies, a tragedian of some note at that period, who had just received his commission, and was recruiting his company, in elocution. . . . The six months which I passed under the direction of these accomplished gentlemen, were months of unceasing labor, and the habits of application which I acquired were of infinite service to me in after life." Dix, *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 41.

[3] She was a second wife, Lucy Hartwell, of Littleton, Mass.

numerous family. If I should not see you soon I wish you to write me; Mrs. Dix joins me in compliments to yourself and Lady. Am Dear Sir, with sentiments of respect and esteem, Your friend,

TIMOTHY DIX, JR.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 3rd, 1812.

SIR, — Enclosed you have a twenty dollar bill for the purpose of settling Adams' bills and a letter to him. I wish him to commence the study of the Spanish language as soon as will be profitable for him; I think it will hardly be profitable to attend six months to the study of mathematics at this time; it may be well for him to attend to it a few weeks longer and in the mean time if Mr. Morse [1] or any other good man can give him some instruction in elocution, I should be pleased.

Please present my respects to Mrs. Davis,[2] and compliments to Mrs. Shattuck and Miss Williams. Am with due respect, Sir, your friend,

TIMOTHY DIX, JR.[3]

P. S. I wish Adams to look at his latin books occasionally, and beg you to hear him recite if you have leisure. T. D.

BALTIMORE, Dec'r 14, 1812.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 11th ult. was received the 20th. I note with satisfaction your distribution of the twenty dollars and now enclose you for similar purposes. Am pleased with your arrangement of Adams' studies. My only fears are that he does not devote so much time as he ought to instructing the ladies in French. I regretted much (on his account) that "Mrs. S[hattuck] . . . could not probably with convenience avail herself of his instructions

[1] Ebenezer B. Morse, On applying for information to Mr. Robert Gould Shaw, gatherer of the great collection on actors and the drama, he gave an extract from Wemyss' *Chronology of the American Stage*, as follows: "Mr. Morse. Actor, Lawyer, Soldier, Sailor and Clergyman, truly 'a man of many parts,' born in Massachusetts; made his first appearance on the stage, November 28, 1806, at the Park Theatre, New York, as Pierre in 'Venice Preserved' under the management of T. Cooper; was the first actor, an American by birth, who played in London, England, with deserved success; retired from the stage, entered the army, became chaplain in the navy, and died an ordained Minister of the Gospel at Williamsburg, Virginia." He held the rank of captain in the 3d Artillery, commissioned July 6, 1812, and was honorably discharged June 1, 1814. He died April 14, 1840.

[2] Mrs. Caleb Davis.

[3] Major, 14th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

longer than 'till the first of January" but the consideration that she will be more *pleasantly employed*, and having the same terms offered him here for any time he may be able to attend; and he having also received a little appointment and being subjected to my order, I shall with less reluctance remove him at the time you propose. I am under very great obligation to you, my Dear Sir, for your kindness and attention to him; and indulge a hope that his conduct has not been such as to entirely forbid him your future patronage. I am not much pleased with his engaging in the Army and do not intend he shall remain in it more than a year or two should he live and the war continue, and that time if I live he will spend with or near me;[1] I have just received orders to go to Annapolis and take command of the two Forts at that place. It is a place of little business but much wealth and refined society; I understand there is a good public school. Adams may I think spend his time there or here to advantage. My new orders will prevent me from visiting New England as soon as I contemplated, shall however in the course of the winter while the Chesapeake is frozen and the Forts free from any danger of assault. Should there be any ballance in your hands after settling Adams' bills, you will please hand it to him on his departure. Have the goodness Dear Sir, to present my most respectful compliments to Mrs. Shattuck and family. Am with much respect and esteem, your friend,

TIMOTHY DIX, JR.

FROM JOHN ADAMS DIX.

FORT WASHINGTON,[2] 15th Nov., 1818.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have permitted a much longer time to elapse without addressing you than I had designed, but I have been controlled by a wish of communicating some intelligence of an interesting character in relation to my situation and prospects; yet after waiting in vain a change or an intermission of the dull monotony of duty and employment, which has characterised my abode here, I find myself constrained to relinquish all expectation of an immediate revolution in my habits of life.

Two months have passed since my arrival and six weeks of this period were engrossed by official duties of a general character, and by a system of labor which afforded me very assiduous occupation,

[1] Dix received an appointment of cadet in the service of the United States in a letter from the War Department dated December 11, and was directed to report to his father and receive his orders. The son served as clerk to the father.

[2] On the Potomac, "opposite Mount Vernon," where a fortification was being constructed. He had attained the rank of First Lieutenant.

in restoring to order the affairs of a company, which a protracted term of neglect had reduced to an almost irremediable state of confusion and embarrassment. I have however found sufficient leisure to read Horace, and am now left more at liberty to pursue my studies. The only Latin works I have now (unperused) are Caesar's *Commentaries* and Cicero *de Amicitia, de Senectute, et de Officiis*, which I purchased a few days since. Tacitus and Livy I cannot obtain. Did you wish me to read the complete works of these authors? With the presumption that you did, I have made arrangements to send to Philadelphia for them, but I shall await a reply from you. The complete works of the former I can procure for about twenty dollars.

I made my debut at the Capital four days ago, and delivered the letter of introduction to Gen'l Parker,[1] which I shewed you. Dr. Lovell[2] I could not find. The Adjutant and Inspector General treated me very courteously, took me home to dine with him, and gave me a general invitation to his house; and to these bounds I must expect his attentions to be circumscribed. To indulge the hope that my acquaintance may be instrumental in obtaining me thro' his agency a more desirable station or office in the Army than the one I now occupy, I feel would be courting disappointment. I have no influential friends whose favor he would conciliate by becoming the author of my advancement, and nature has unfortunately refused me the faculty of administering complimentary speeches, which is in military life much more successful than merit in urging its possessor to an elevated grade of preferment. Gen'ls Swift[3] and Jessup[4] are absent from the City — otherwise I should have been presented to them by Gen'l P.

The most unpleasant and unfavorable circumstance of my station here is the restriction imposed on the officers by the Comg. Officer of the Department. We are interdicted the privilege of absence from our Garrison more than twenty-four hours, and it is impossible to visit Washington and return the same day. Therefore, whenever we wish to attend a levee or a debate in Congress, we are under the necessity of addressing the Commandant of Department for permission with the hazard of receiving it when it is too late to avail ourselves of it.

Since so many obstructions preclude my approach even to the avenues of promotion I must abandon the hope of immediate advancement and confide in the ultimate success of my own unassisted

[1] Daniel Parker, Inspector General.
[2] Joseph Lovell (1788–1836), Surgeon General.
[3] Joseph Gardner Swift (1783–1865).
[4] Thomas Sidney Jesup (1788–1860).

and persevering exertions; and I shall certainly not despair as long as my health permits me to pursue those objects, which I have in view.

For those attentions and favors which your goodness has lavished upon me, I am conscious of obligations, which I can never repay. I have received them in silence, because I have felt myself incompetent to express those feelings of gratitude, to which your unprecedented kindness has given existence; but I have ever cherished and shall continue to preserve a vivid sense of obligation, which the attrition of time can never obliterate.

My health has experienced many fluctuations and as usual, at the approach of winter, begins to decline. We have at our Garrison a very intelligent physician, who has recommended to me the use of the Nitric Acid, preparatory to which I am to take two or three doses of Calomel — this I shall commence tomorrow. I should have consulted Dr. Lovell, but I could not find him when I was last in Washington, and I shall not visit the City again for some weeks.

I met Colo. Towson [1] a few days since, and was the subject of some polite attentions from him, for which I am sensible that I am indebted to your favorable representations in relation to me.

I shall await with great anxiety a letter from you, with which I beg you soon to favor me, and when I next address you it shall be on more interesting topics.

Will you have the goodness to remember me respectfully to your family and Mrs. Bradlee? Believe me, Sir, with great respect and esteem, Your friend and very obedient Servant,

JOHN A. DIX.

BROWNSVILLE,[2] 14th April, 1819.

MY DEAR SIR, — I addressed you from New York and have been impatiently awaiting your reply. It is a long time since I have heard from you — the first of January was the date of your last letter.

My last letter contained some intelligence in reference to the situation I now occupy, tho' the subject was merged in doubt. I well know the benevolent interest you feel in my welfare, and I intended on the reception of my appointment to have apprized you of my success; but Gen'l Brown [3] expressed a wish that I should immediately join him, and I was so overwhelmed with employments in transferring the direction of the Department with which I was entrusted to another officer that I had no time to address you.

[1] Nathan Towson (1784–1854).
[2] Jefferson County, New York.
[3] Jacob Brown (1775–1828).

I find myself very agreeably situated here, unmolested with the requisitions of courtesy, not compelled to receive or reciprocate attentions, and enjoying extensive advantages for study and mental cultivation. My attention must for a time be necessarily bent on acquisitions, not contemplated by the course of literary pursuits, which I adopted in conformity to your suggestion and counsel, yet these attainments will have an equally favorable influence on my future advantage. Thus, I am rendering myself perfect in the French language, which I have neglected latterly, for which purpose I have engaged in the translation of a French historical work, which will employ two months.

The last of May, the General designs to make the tour of the North-Western Lakes, an expedition which will absorb at least three months. This I cannot consider disadvantageous, as I can amass information of a beneficial character in relation to an important section of our country. Geographical information is more certain and assuredly more interesting when yielded by personal observation.

I am still solicitously interested in the attainment of the honorary degree which you encourage me to expect. Be assured that all my leisure shall be devoted to the prosecution of the requisite studies.

I am pleased with Gen'l Brown and think I can *please him*. My prospects are certainly flattering — but the path of military pursuits abounds with difficulties and perils; to surmount or evade them requires the most rigid and unreposing circumspection. Military ambition appears to me to be of the most arbitrary and unfeeling character; it subjugates and impresses into its service every sensibility of the heart; it annihilates our tenderest sympathies and prostrates every insurrection of friendship and philanthropy.

The ardor of competition, the chagrin of disconcerted rivalry, the more vulgar — in fact the universal criticism of envy — constitute and organize a system of scrutiny and inquisition into the conduct of an officer, which his most vigilant and cautious adherence to rectitude is alone able to repel. If his habits ever receive the aspersion of impropriety, he becomes the object of proscription and abandonment which ultimately effect his official destruction. I address you, as you wished, with perfect frankness; but these are sentiments I have never before expressed tho' I have long felt the consciousness that they were correct.

I beg you to write me on reception of this. I have calculated much on your advice, with which I have not yet been favored. Will you remember me cordially to your family and believe me, With the greatest regard, very sincerely yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

(*Confidential.*)

BROWNSVILLE, 20th April, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR, —

. . . . . .

I was detained in Washington much longer than I expected, in consequence of Gen'l Brown's engagements. In the month of February I went with him into the interior of Virginia to visit the two ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison.[1] The latter we found in fine health and in as fine spirits — he could not, indeed, well be otherwise, for everything around him combined to render him healthful and happy. He occupies himself sufficiently for the purposes of exercise with the superintendence of the agricultural labors of his Slaves on his plantation, and with the more immediate direction of his garden, which is the finest we saw in Virginia. He is a very excellent practical farmer and horticulturist. I was very much surprised at his amenity and complaisance of manner, as I had always understood that he was singularly distant and frigid. It is impossible that any one could be more courteous and communicative in conversation. When he was in office he had undoubtedly more of stateliness and dignity, but with the resignation of his official honors, he has lost all the formality, with which he supported them. Mr. Jefferson's manners are very similar, tho' they have more of simplicity and less of grace. His health has for some time been very much disordered, but he maintains his spirits and activity of mind. His conversation occasionally indicates some decay of intellect, which must be expected in his great weight of years and in the derangement of his animal constitution, which is cooperating for the depression of his mind. He talks much of the old war and the *Continental Congress*, and abuses to excess the sovereigns of Europe, who had dominion in the days of his public course. There was nothing in Mr. Madison's conversation, which betrayed any decadence of his mental faculties — every thing indicated the greatest soundness and vigor. Mr. Jefferson's estate is in wretched condition. His plantation appears to be very much neglected, and his house is in a wonderful state of dilapidation. I presume he does not give these subjects the least attention — books and the labor of writing absorb him — and I must not omit to inform you that I observed in his Library a very large manuscript, in his hand writing, which I doubt not will in a few years appear before the world, as a posthumous work of Tom Jefferson. I hinted this to a beautiful and very accomplished Grand-daughter of his, who was at my side, and I thought she looked *very wise and sagacious* on the subject. In re-

[1] See Dix, *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 58.

turning to the City of Washington, that world of forms and ceremonies, I could not but send back my regards in veneration to the picture of greatness and simplicity, which I had left behind me. Nothing in the course of my life and observations has so elevated and so effectually corrected my ideas of true greatness.

The State of Virginia is in her wane. You would be astonished at the decay, which is visible between Washington and Monticello — nothing appears thriving. The land is apparently exhausted, the system of agriculture miserable, every house old and hastening to decay — and yet Mr. Barbour observed (and Mr. Jefferson confirmed his observation) that this section is the *cream* of Virginia. In her department of intellect, there is as serious a decline. Monroe is her last President for years, for she has not a single young man advancing, who can aspire to high political eminence. Crawford [1] is unfortunately a native of Virginia, altho' he left it in extreme youth, and inasmuch as he was born there I hope he may never attain to the Presidency. Virginia is so extravagantly arrogant, and her arrogance is so much more elevated than is justified by the basis, on which she builds the structure, that I am desirous she should have no reason for its increase. It is humiliating that the North, which possesses the ascendency in physical resource and power, and, in my opinion, a greater amount of talent than the South, should wield less political influence. The superiority of the South is contained in their better political organisation, and in their strict union by the single interest of Slavery. But I hope we may have no more Southern Presidents, except Mr. Calhoun, who, as he is an uncommonly great man and very national in his sentiments, may, I hope, attain the Chief Magistracy.

It is with great satisfaction I feel myself able to communicate to you a favorable change in my health and, I have no doubt, a permanently favorable one. At all events it has occurred at the most propitious epoch of my life, when my constitution is attaining to maturity and my bodily powers are capable of their greatest efforts against disease. Now that the fever of youth is over and my romantic sentiments of love are corrected, I hope to persevere without interruption in the course of ambition which you have marked out for my pursuit. You need have no apprehension that I shall again fall headlong into love. My reason is hereafter to mingle somewhat of her influence in my decisions on this, as I hope on other subjects. Among my highest sources of satisfaction is the hope of being countenanced in my future course by your friendship. I hope to see you in the course of the summer or autumn at Boston. In two weeks

[1] William Harris Crawford (1772–1834), now of Georgia.

I go to West Point, whence I shall address you. In the meantime I trust I shall hear from you there. With my best respects to your family, I remain, my dear Sir, with the highest respect and esteem, your friend and very obedient Servant, JOHN A. DIX.

WASHINGTON, 20th Nov., 1822.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your favor yesterday and acknowledge with compunction the delinquency, of which it accuses me. You will, however, pardon me when I assure you that my time has been assiduously devoted, since I last wrote you from Philadelphia, to my studies. I have read some history, Reid's *Essays*, Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Say's Politico-economick treatise, a few pages of Latin every day, a portion of Hume's *Essays*, run over Ossian, Milton, Goldsmith and a part of Shakespeare, and besides have written some criticisms on subjects of public concern. You will doubtless consider this course as very desultory, but it has not been unimproving. I think I can feel my mind grow stronger and my views expand as I progress, and, if heaven will but give me health, I am confident that I shall realize at some future day my ambitious hopes. At all events, exertion shall not be spared. To your opinion I feel that I owe every thing. It has sustained my resolution and animated my efforts, when every thing else was calculated to depress the one and embarrass the other; and if ever I attain my objects in life, I shall more sensibly feel how much I am indebted to the encouragement, which you have given me.

My health has been much better during the last two months than it has been before for a year. Bran and chaff I have given to the winds, and upon the whole I find the farinaceous part of grain equally wholesome and vastly more palatable.

My drawing claims your sympathy. I devoted a few days to it in Philadelphia, but it has been totally neglected since. I have neither the time to think of matrimony nor of that broad system of active accomplishment, upon which I intended to build my connubial edifice; but for the wane of my accomplishments I am seeking to indemnify myself by amassing solid intelligence, and after all I may find it as efficacious. To be serious — my days of frivolity are over, and whatever means Fortune places at my disposal will be applied with energy to the achievement of my hopes.

The great race takes place today, unless Virginia has backed out, as report says.[1] You will of course receive from the Public Prints a detail of the transactions of the day. The City is thronged with

[1] Sir Charles, of Virginia, against Eclipse, of New York, both having as grandsire Old Diomed, imported by Colonel Hoomes.

visitors of both sexes from great distances — whole families are on the spot from Baltimore. All of the fashion of Washington will be present. About two hundred thousand dollars are depending in the form of bets. My only solicitude is that these consummate braggadacios from Virginia may be put down. The same State vanity that governs her Sons in their political course, is also their controlling principle in the humble sphere of horse-jockeying.

I rejoice in the election of Webster.[1] His talents will distinguish him in every sphere; but I have no confidence in the most consummate eloquence when exerted in opposition to radicalism. In our government radicalism is faction — faction, too, of that shameless character, which recognizes no principle of honor or decency. As soon as the spirit of Congress displays itself, I will address you explicitly on political subjects. In the meantime I hope to hear from you and beg you to believe me ever devotedly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

General Brown is recovering and will recover perfectly. He is in command.

I have just returned from the race. Every body was there, President and all. The Virginian paid his forfeit $5000 for not running, alleging that his horse was lame. The two horses were, however, walked about the course half an hour, and it was evident that they were both in good condition. The Virginian then offered to run a four mile heat for one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars. The New Yorker took him up at fifteen hundred — the race was run immediately — the New York horse kept ahead from the outset, distancing the other, which was compelled to stop the last mile with a leg out of joint. There was no comparison in horses or riders. So Virginia, after challenging the whole United States in the *National Intelligencer*, is beaten on her own terms, has lost six thousand five hundred dollars on the regular bet and about one hundred thousand dollars on others of individuals disinterested, and has her best race horse ruined. Never was boasting more effectually humbled. The "old Dominion" has received a useful lesson from the North and I pray that she may receive one of the same character in the field of politics.

WASHINGTON, 19th Dec., 1822.

MY DEAR SIR, — As I have nothing interesting to say to you in relation to myself I must have recourse to the subjects which are most prolifick of interest here.

Congress has commenced its Session with peculiar vigor. Con-

[1] Member of Congress.

trary to all precedent it has passed a resolution, with the requisite forms for ripening into a law, before the Christmas holidays. Tomorrow the Presidential sanction and signature will be given to the legislative arrangements for the extirpation of Piracy. It seems that governments, in which deliberation bears so important a part as in ours, are not always deficient in resolution and promptitude.

Although the interest which is felt in the subject of the next President, does not manifest itself externally, it is the *primum mobile* of every political disposition here. The multiplicity of candidates has been, contrary to all reasonable expectation, a source of little confusion among their different partizans in Congress, and has really given existence to little opposition among them. But there is a satisfactory mode of accounting for this apparent inconsistency. Mr. Crawford is the great champion of opposition to the present administration. This ground he occupies exclusively, and, if the Radicals prevail, he will infallibly be elevated to the Presidency. All the other candidates connect their hopes with the maintenance of the established policy, and although their respective partizans have final objects, which are different, a general interest to sustain Mr. Monroe and demolish the rising influence of Mr. Crawford binds them all together and gives not only an apparent but a real concert to their operations. As soon as they have defeated the common enemy, dissentions as violent will arise among themselves.

It is difficult to foresee who will be the successful aspirant. Mr. Adams injured himself exceedingly by his 4th of July oration. He has nearly redeemed himself by his triumphant controversy with Mr. Russell;[1] and I think, upon the whole, he is gradually gaining character. Mr. Crawford is certainly declining in public opinion. His interest is single, and it has the special ill luck of animating the enmity of every other. It is difficult to contend against all the world. Mr. Calhoun, as a man of action, is stronger than any other individual in the Cabinet. He has not the learning of Mr. Adams, but in every other respect he is his superior. He has a character of frankness and simplicity, a boldness and energy of spirit, and an openness and benignity of manner, against the influence of which it is almost impossible to contend. But I think the people will consider him too young, and require the test of a further service of eight years in a subordinate department of the Executive.[2] If New Eng-

[1] In the matter of the "Duplicate Letters," in which dispute Jonathan Russell was so severely handled by the Secretary of State as never to recover his influence and political standing.

[2] Dix was "an enthusiastic admirer and staunch supporter of Mr. Calhoun, whose cause he advocated with a practised and facile pen." Dix, *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 66.

land was united and would declare herself in favor of Mr. Adams, he would inevitably be successful. If she does not act promptly, there is danger that she may be defeated by more timely combinations in other quarters.

The only perceptible change is the diminution of Mr. Crawford's popularity. There have been some very important instances of dereliction among his partizans in the Senate since last winter, and the new elections by the people have been very generally unfriendly to him except in his native State. His friends have acknowledged him to be the Champion of Radicalism, and the confession has done him serious injury. I only pray that prospects may remain as favorable. The great object of every patriot must be to sustain the present administration, to preserve the public institutions, and to demolish that scheme of principles which proposes to dispense with the common preparations of nations against disaster and to throw upon posterity burthens, which properly belong to the present generation.

I am a member of Gen'l Brown's domestic, as well as military establishment, am well, studious, and happy.

With my best respects to your family and with the hope of hearing from you soon, I am, my dear Sir, Ever faithfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

30 Dec., 1822.

DEAR SIR, — I send you an article in the *Washington Republican* signed "Senex," which I wrote hastily. It is a matter of delicacy considering my connexion with the Government — therefore this intelligence is for your eye alone. In great haste, Ever faithfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

I am in better health than I have enjoyed for years — am constantly occupied and happy in all respects.

WASHINGTON, 3rd January, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have received your frank letter, and return you my most sincere thanks. I feel very sensibly the obligation I owe to your frank expressions, and I trust I shall never shrink from the observation of truth even when it is derogatory from my own merit. I showed your letter to General Brown and I am authorized to assure you from him that, although he agrees with you that vanity is the great danger which threatens me, I have made a regular progress in fortifying myself against it.

I am in great haste, and have only time to say that I send a paper

containing an article which I wrote signed "X." [1] I think in point of style it is the best (or rather the least bad) piece, which I have written. I should like your opinion on the pieces I have sent you. If they have any merit, you need not be afraid to tell me so. I think I am proof against compliments, and I am fully sensible of my imperfections. Ever faithfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

NEW YORK, 25th May, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR, — I know not what apology I shall make for my long silence, but I should certainly have written you more frequently but for numerous employments and some ill health. I supposed my health was entirely re-established, and I presumed on it so far as to depart from my strict habits of exercise and diet. But I have been and still am a sufferer. However, I continue my studies with great assiduity.

I wrote to you in January or February enclosing at the same time some numbers on the Niagara campaign published in the *New York Statesman* knowing your predilection for General Brown. To this letter I have never received a reply. I informed you that I was on the point of commencing my studies in form in this city — which I have done. I am now in a law office, issuing writs, etc., etc., and if my papers all pass judicial inspection I shall, on passing an examination, be admitted to practice early next year. It will depend on my health whether I leave the army or not. I am very anxious to abandon a profession, in which there is no chance of distinction in peaceful times, and nothing but poverty and ill health have bound me to it so long.

I send you a copy of the *Statesman* containing an article signed "Pericles," which I wrote very hastily and without premeditation. I should be glad to know what you think of it, but I fear your criticism, as it is very open to it. With devoted regard, your devoted servant,

JOHN A. DIX.

NEW YORK, 16th June, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR, — I regret exceedingly that you did not receive the numbers I mentioned, particularly as they may have fallen into bad hands. You did not inform me if you received the letter, which I addressed to you at the same time. It was of the most confidential character, and I regret that it should have mis-

[1] See Dix, *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 66.

carried. No one knows, and no one must know, that I wrote those numbers. They contain nothing but truth, but the circumstance, if known, might injure those with whom I am connected. . . .

I am very hard at work. Ever devotedly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

NEW YORK, 14th August, 1823.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send you a pamphlet,[1] which I wrote at the request of several political men in this City in aid of the great cause of our national administration. The views, as well as the arrangement of the discussion, are my own. It was written in two days, and copied for the press the third. This I mention in defence of the style. Those, who are better able to judge than myself, say that the arguments are unanswerable. I must, of course, be kept entirely out of view as the author; but I may hereafter be known as such with great advantage to myself. My ambition is to divest myself of my military connexions and to embark on the broad ocean of law and politicks. My health is feeble, and this is a most serious drawback. However, I must do as well as I can, and trust the rest to fortune.

I am very much engaged at this moment.

Dr. Perkins left us yesterday, and will give you all the news. He has not seen the pamphlet, nor is he aware that I am the author of it. I wish him to remain in ignorance of it. With my best regards to your family and my ardent wishes for your happiness, I am, with the most respectful regard,

JOHN A. DIX.

WASHINGTON, 22nd February, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your letter in relation to Dr. Porter and did all I could to aid his application. Mr. Calhoun, however, told me very frankly at the first interview I had with him on the subject, that there was but little chance of his success. The office has been eagerly sought, and there was a partial commitment before your letter was received. I sincerely regret that I cannot communicate more acceptable intelligence.

I have intended for a long time to write to you on the great question, which now agitates this Confederacy; but the doubtful nature of the subject has made me silent. I could have said nothing that would not have been purely conjectural, and I have always had a reluctance to meddle with the business of prophecy. The

[1] *On the Mode of constituting Presidential Electors. Addressed to the People of the State of New-York.* 1823.

question has at length assumed a more intelligible shape — at least, in some respects. For instance, I consider it well settled that the caucus nomination will have very little influence, if any; and, as Mr. Crawford's hopes have been altogether dependent on this measure, I consider his doom as sealed. The late caucus is deemed, not an engine to sustain the Republican family, but as an instrument of its destruction. It will, therefore, be resisted. Mr. Crawford, however, will continue to control a small but devoted party, and may, perhaps, eventually turn the Presidential scale. Mr. Calhoun's chances of success depended on the course of Pennsylvania. This state, it appears, will support the Hero of New Orleans, and Mr. Calhoun's fate is settled. My opinion is that the West will renounce Mr. Clay's pretensions, and will very generally support General Jackson. Mr. Adams, Mr Crawford and General Jackson, therefore, remain the strong competitors. Between these three I have certainly a very decided choice. Mr. Crawford's connexion with the Radical party, his doubtful principles and disingenuous course in the administration forbid me to desire his elevation. Mr. Adams has extraordinary merits. His extensive acquirements, incorruptible morals and devotion to his country's service furnish him with the strongest and most indisputable claims. But he is, I fear, little fitted for popular government. No man could administer an absolute system better, because he would never prostitute the possession of power to corrupt or tyrannical ends. But I am apprehensive that he will be found to possess very little talent for managing men, which is the most important of all qualities under a government where the people have so immediate a participation, as under ours, in the business of administration. I fear, therefore, should he be elected, that his administration will be disturbed by dangerous and distracting feuds. Swayed by apprehensions like these, and having been taught by estrangement from the region of my birth and education and by national habits of thought to renounce my sectional partialities, I am strongly inclined to wish for General Jackson's success. The character of this great man is not at all understood. He has been induced to adopt violent measures for the attainment of useful ends, but I am convinced by what I have seen this winter that he is a good man, and that he knows how to govern his passions. It is obvious that General Jackson would have many advantages over Mr. Adams in administering the government. It is a principal object with the sound politicians of the country to abolish party distinctions and to elevate talent, wherever it is found. But as Mr. Adams has been a federalist the least inclination towards federal men or federal measures would excite alarm and disturb his popularity. General Jackson, having always been a violent demo-

crat, might avail himself of the talents of the federal party without danger, and no one believes that he would be a party man. In fact he is known to despise most cordially the petty Bucktail interest of New York, and the kindred interests of the Eastern States. He is, indeed, the only man who can resuscitate the federal party (since Mr. Calhoun's fate is sealed) and, by uniting its virtue with the virtue of the Republican party, cast all the ignorance, depravity and infatuation of the community into a small and harmless minority. I should be glad to know your sentiments on this subject, though I cannot expect that you will consent to renounce Mr. Adams. Very sincerely and devotedly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

WASHINGTON, 12th April, 1824.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your letter a few days since, and return you my thanks. There is no one, whose letters afford me so much satisfaction as yours, and I hope you will think a leisure moment, devoted to me occasionally, not unprofitably employed.

The view you have taken of Mr. Adams is in every respect sound, and I heartily concur with you. I believe I said in my last that I was rather inclined to prefer Jackson. My mind is not at all settled beween them, or, if it is, it is not in favor of the latter. I have great apprehensions from Mr. Adams' ignorance of the springs by which men are excited to action. He knows not how to govern, and I fear he will have dissentions in his Cabinet. General Jackson is superior to him only in this one point. On all others it would be unjust to Mr. Adams even to institute a comparison between them. In patriotism, purity of character and in general information Mr. Adams has no superior; and when I am really frank with myself, I do think there is an internal admission that his elevation to the Presidency would be more grateful to my feelings than that of his rival.

I have this day been examined before the Judges of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia and admitted to the practice of the law. I intend to go to the City of New York in May, and be admitted to the Supreme Court there. This I shall do, not with any immediate view to leave the army, but because my course of application justifies it, and because it is a distinction which may be worth something to me. I receive fifteen hundred dollars, and it would be madness to relinquish this certainty for a precarious dependence on an untried profession. But I am far from relishing my military life. My ambition leads me to the forum, but my poverty, I fear, will be a perpetual bar to the attainment of my wishes. However, I shall go on with my studies, and gain all the knowledge I can,

for knowledge, according to Bacon, is power. With my best respects to your family and with assurances of devoted regard for yourself, I am, Dear Sir, truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

WASHINGTON CITY, 13th January, 1825.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your favour two days ago, and return you my thanks for your kind attention to the commission for my mother.

My plans with regard to an establishment in New York and the dissolution of my military connexions are definitively formed, and I am authorized to believe that nothing but ill health will be able to frustrate them. I shall leave General Brown's family in the month of March on furlough for a year as a lieutenant, and shall open an office in the city of New York. My income as a lieutenant will support me the first year, and the proceeds of my practice (whatever they are) will be reserved for my support the second year. In two years I trust I shall be able to make my way without extraneous aid. I ought also to class among my means a promise of business from the government which will be worth three or four hundred dollars per annum, and now and then an equal sum for a case, which will employ me a month or six weeks. I am, therefore, authorised to believe that the patronage of the government will be worth from six to eight hundred dollars *communibus annis*. If I should hereafter in the course of my practice become qualified for the performance of the duties of district attorney of the United States, I may be able to secure such an appointment through the influence of my friends and my personal connexions with prominent individuals in the government. However, I make no account of contingencies like this. My reliance is upon the course of business and my own unassisted industry. I have but one drawback — the support and education of my brother Sherman;[1] but I must make some arrangement to educate him at Dartmouth at as little expense as possible. He is a boy of great promise, and I shall not abandon him to his own exertions until he has attained a maturity of mind and a fund of knowledge which will fit him for struggling with the world. I have thus given you a plain view of my prospects. I should have asked your advice before I formed my resolution, but I deemed it a case of responsibility, which would have made such an application invidious and improper. That it has your approbation I know and rejoice.

My opinion and my earnest hope are that Mr. Adams will be

[1] Roger Sherman Dix (1810–1849). A biographical sketch of him is in Coffin, *History of Boscawen and Webster*, 356.

President in two months from this time. He is strong from his eminent qualifications for the [post] — a point which becomes the stronger as it is investigated. There is not the slightest evidence of excitement among those who are to make the choice. The question of principle is settled, Mr. Adams and General Jackson being identified with the same system of public measures; and it is now a mere matter of personal preference. My feelings are, upon mature deliberation, all with Mr. Adams.

Your family afflictions have my sincere sympathy, and I trust this letter may find you all in renovated health. With my best wishes for their happiness and yours, I am, my dear Sir, ever respectfully and faithfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

COPENHAGEN, 9th August, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR, — The treaty, which I brought out to this Court, will be ratified tomorrow,[1] and I shall set out the ensuing day on my way home. I shall, however, pass through the free States of Lübeck and Hamburgh, through a part of Holland and France, and you may, therefore, receive this before my arrival in the United States.

On my way hither I passed through England, and was confirmed by my observations in the opinions, which I have long held with regard to that country. Her resources are unimpaired, and she is at this moment capable of greater efforts than she ever has been at any past stage of her progress. Her fiscal burdens are a source of embarrassment to her government; but, great as they are, they would not be felt for a moment, if any powerful impulse could be applied to the feelings of the British people. All the suggestions, which we hear, of the decline or the debility of this stupendous power are idle — and so we shall find, whenever she is stimulated, by any strongly exciting causes, to action.

This kingdom (Denmark) is exceedingly embarrassed in its finances — more so by far than Great Britain, though her burdens are nominally inferior. In the latter there are a thousand springs of industry to sustain and alleviate the pressure of her embarrassments — here there are none. There is not a more arbitrary form of government in Europe than that of Denmark — but public opinion, notwithstanding, exerts a powerful influence over the operations of the administration. The King[2] has been long upon the throne, is a man

[1] A treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, concluded at Washington April 26, 1826, by Henry Clay and Peter Pedersen.

[2] Frederick VI.

of great mildness, and has no disposition to indulge in any unnecessary exercise of power.

I was exceedingly delighted with the neighboring Kingdom of Sweden, in which I passed about ten days. The country is very picturesque; and the inhabitants are the most civil, honest and good-natured people in Europe. They have a voice in the government, and they are very proud of their little show of freedom. There is a spirit among them on this subject, which I have not remarked anywhere else on the Continent, although I have been in four other different states. They remember too that Charles the Twelfth was their countryman, and much of his boldness and intrepidity has descended to them. In one word, I am delighted with this frank and gallant people, and I have felt nowhere, not even in England, so many causes of interest and sympathy.

I regret exceedingly the necessity, under which I find myself, of returning so soon to the United States, but it is not without the hope of returning to Europe at some future day. The climate agrees with me, and the happiness, which I experience in my matrimonial connexion,[1] has had a most friendly influence upon my mind, and, through my mind, upon my animal frame. Mental serenity I find to be indispensable to health.

I saw Dr. Abernethy in London, and shall always look back upon my interview with him with great satisfaction.[2] He treated me with the most particular civility, and much to my surprise, as I have always heard his manners were exceedingly rough. He commenced conversation by telling me I was an American, and that my countrymen had more good sense than any other people in the world. From this subject he passed on to many others, and amused me, for more than twenty minutes, more than I was ever amused before in the same space of time. Among other matters he told me several excellent stories. I was delighted with him, and can assure you, though such an assurance is very unnecessary, that he is in every respect a most extraordinary man. He gave me no particular advice, but I believe he has put me on the proper course of thinking. I mentioned your name as a friend, by whose advice I had called to consult him, and I found you were very well known to him. The only reason I have to regret that I do not return through England is that I cannot have another interview with him.

Will you excuse this hasty letter? I am preparing to dine with

[1] He married, May 29, 1826, Catharine, adopted daughter of John Jordan Morgan.

[2] John Abernethy (1764–1831). Dix wrote an account of his interview, which was printed in the *New York American*, and is reprinted in Dix, *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, II. 69.

the Prime Minister, and have only this moment to write you before my departure. With my best regards to your family, I am ever, respectfully and truly yours, etc.,

JOHN A. DIX.

NEW YORK, 20th May, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have ascertained that there are at this moment two vacant professorships of mathematics in collegiate institutions in the United States — one in the College at Philadelphia and one in the University of Virginia. I do not know the value of the latter, but in general the officers of the institution are very liberally compensated. The former is worth twenty to twenty-five hundred dollars per annum. That Mr. Grund [1] may have a chance of obtaining either the one or the other, I will write this evening to President Beasley,[2] who is at the head of the Pennsylvania College and to Mr. Madison, who has a controlling influence over the University of Virginia. The object of my letters will be to request that the situations may be kept open until Mr. Grund can have time to exhibit his pretensions. I know both those gentlemen personally, and feel authorized to address them. In the meantime it would be well for Mr. G. to prepare for the application of whatever influence it may be in his power to command. I will write you further on this subject. With my best regards to your family and my respects to Mr. Grund, I am faithfully your friend and Servant,

JOHN A. DIX.

My friend, Dr. Anderson [3] of Columbia College, has heard of Mr. Grund, and feels an interest in his success.

Mr. Coolidge,[4] who married Miss Randolph, may be of service. Mr. Madison thinks very highly of him, and a letter from him immediately would be of great use.

NEW YORK, 24th May, 1827.

DEAR SIR, — I enclose a letter, which I have just received from President Beasley of the University of Pennsylvania. Will you please return it to me by my brother Sherman, who will leave Boston on Tuesday morning? If Mr. Grund should not think it advisable to go on to Philadelphia, I will transmit to Dr. Beasley any testimonials it may be deemed proper to present. With regard to the

[1] Francis Joseph Grund (1805–1863).

[2] Frederick Beasley (1777–1845).

[3] Henry James Anderson (1799–1875).

[4] Joseph Coolidge, Jr. (1798–1879). He married, May, 1825, Ellen Wayles Randolph, granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson.

personal qualifications, such as manners etc., I can testify to the satisfaction of all concerned. You will understand the importance of acting without delay. The letter explains all. If you have time, I should be glad to receive the papers by my brother.

. . . In haste, Most truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

NEW YORK, 6th November, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, — I returned here a few days ago after a long absence from the city, during which I was almost constantly unwell. I left it very suddenly on the 1st July, when I found I could not safely remain in it a day longer. . . .

Can you tell me anything of Mr. Grund? I wrote to several of the Trustees of the College in Philadelphia. From Mr. Hopkinson[1] I had a letter saying the matter was then undecided. I also wrote to Mr. Grund, but I have not heard from him. I feel an interest in his success, and I hope a place may be found for him.

I shall send you a sketch of the condition of this city, which I wrote last spring, and which was published in my absence.[2] It is a small affair, but contains views, which may, perhaps, be new to you. My absence from the city must account for the delay in sending you a copy. It was published in August.

On the first of this month, my wife presented me with a fine boy, who, as well as his mother, is doing perfectly well. You may fancy the gratification this event has given me, and the interest it has excited in a family without children, as Mr. Morgan's is.

I have been much engaged during the last month at West Point in writing. My brother is doing well. He is excelled by some in study, but his moral deportment and subordination have been unexceptionable. It is an admirable system, and Colonel Thayer[3] is an invaluable public servant. His genius and high tone of character are enough, of themselves, to work a total revolution in the character of the army through their influence upon the minds, which are annually added to the establishment. I hope you are all well. Will you present me and my wife to Mrs. Shattuck, and believe me Ever faithfully, your friend and Servant,

JOHN A. DIX.

[1] Joseph Hopkinson (1770–1842).

[2] *Sketch of the Resources of the City of New York, with a View of its Municipal Government, Population, &c., from the foundation of the City to the date of the Latest Statistical Accounts.* 1827. It was printed without the author's name.

[3] Sylvanus Thayer (1785–1872).

NEW YORK, 28th November, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your favor several days ago, when I was confined to the house by indisposition. . . .

You ask me what course Governor Clinton [1] is disposed to take on the pending question of the Presidential election. I think I observed to you in a conversation at Boston that he would be first for himself, if he believed himself to have any chance of success; and second for the candidate, whose election now would be most favorable to his own hereafter — and this one I believed to be General Jackson. Every indication justifies these impressions of him. No man can take exception to the Governor's course. He is a high-minded man, governed, whenever any public interest is in question, by fixed principles. With regard to this state, it must be considered as lost to the administration at Washington. General Jackson will carry with him a large number of the electoral votes. The political journals hold a totally contradictory language on this subject; but it is a matter of policy on both sides to speak confidently, for the wavering are often determined in their course by a show of strength. If the question remains, where it now is, between Mr. Adams and General Jackson, I believe the latter will be elected by a considerable majority of the electoral votes. But new ground is about to be taken, and what is to be [the] issue of this cannot be foreseen. The friends of Mr. Clinton intend to bring him into the field upon the supposition that he will divide the strength of Mr. Adams and General Jackson, and, with his own permanent force, be elected by the colleges. I believe the result will be to bring three candidates into the House of Representatives and throw the choice upon that body. Who will succeed there no one can foretell. But it is a result which all should unite to avert. It not only equalizes the influence of different States but it is an inevitable source of intrigue and bargaining. The votes of the small states have been purchased, and will be purchased again; and whenever the choice devolves on a body so organized, the chance is that he will succeed, who is least fastidious about the means, which he employs to secure his success. I would rather see the worst man in the republic elevated for a time by fair means than to behold the fountain of political power corrupted almost at its source. I do not intend to insinuate any doubt of Mr. Adams' fairness in the last election, but he is, unfortunately for him, connected with men, who are altogether unworthy of the association — men, who hesitate not to resort to measures, which he would spurn. I will, however, say no more on this subject now.

[1] De Witt Clinton (1769–1828). See a letter of General Brown, in Dix, *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 105.

I beg you to give our best regards to Mrs. S. We are not insensible to the kind interest, which you express in the happy addition to the number of our family. With my best regards, I am ever respectfully and truly,

JOHN A. DIX.

My brother Sherman is still doing very well. In *conduct* especially he is unexceptionable.

COOPERSTOWN, 24th August, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your kind letter a day or two ago when I was on the point of writing to you to communicate the intelligence, which you have already received from Mr. Sullivan, that I have resigned my Commission in the Army and have fixed my residence at this place.[1] I have a beautiful place directly upon the banks of the Susquehannah river, which lies about one hundred feet below me. It is but a small stream here, taking its rise at the outlet of the Otsego Lake about one hundred rods from my door. The village of Cooperstown also lies immediately below me, and I look over it to the head of the Lake, about eight miles distant. I have about five acres of orchard, half an acre of garden, and about an acre and a half of vacant ground prettily shaded by fruit and forest trees. Indeed, so far as position goes, I have nothing to desire. I hope to get a little practice in the law; but I shall profit by my past experience and do no more than is authorized by the state of my health. My father-in-law confides all his business to me, and as he has about one hundred tenants in the adjacent counties, I shall have employment in looking after them. Some business in the way of litigation will be inseparable from so considerable an agency. Politicks, I confess, is the boundary of my hopes; but I am, for the time, disfranchised, a previous residence having been assumed in our last enactment with regard to the right of Suffrage as a qualification for its exercise. The controversy between the friends of Mr. Adams and General Jackson must, therefore, be decided without any agency of mine. If I mistake not the aspect of the times, however, contests more deeply rooted in principle will ere long distract us. You will at once understand me as referring to the rigid and latitudinarian doctrines which are held with regard to the construction of the Constitution. I have no reference to the prevailing excitement with regard to the tariff. But I believe a class of politicians are springing up, who by silently usurping and exercising powers not granted by the Constitution, threaten to rob that instrument of all its sanctity.

[1] He resigned from the army in July, 1828, and went to manage some property of his father-in-law at Cooperstown, N. Y.

It is our best safeguard, and the moment it is divested of authority, there can be no appeal but to the arm of power. I do not think we are in any present danger; but abuse is best remedied by resisting it at the outset. . . .

Could you not pay my wife and me a visit at our rural residence? We could show you a beautiful country, and you ought to see the great Canal and the great city. We should be very much gratified if you could come and pass a few weeks with us, and we might thus be made instrumental in dispelling the influence of those deep afflictions, with which it has pleased Heaven to visit your domestic peace.

My wife returns you her thanks for your friendly expressions in behalf of her little boy and herself, and unites with me in sincere wishes for your happiness. She bids me say that, if Boston is like New York, you can have no difficulty, when you accede to our solicitations for a visit from you, in finding coadjutors enough of the faculty, who will be very glad to take your patients off your hands during your temporary absence. We shall go to housekeeping about the 20th September and would then be very happy to see you, or next summer, if you could better leave home then. I am, Dear Sir, with sincere respect and esteem, Your friend,

JOHN A. DIX.

COOPERSTOWN, 5th January, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received your favor the day before yesterday, and return you my most sincere thanks, in which my wife unites, for your kind wishes in our behalf and in that of our little family. It would give us both sincere gratification to receive you here, and although Apple-hill should not realize the expectations which you may have formed of its rural beauties, we can, at all events, assure you that you shall meet no disappointment in the feelings, with which you will be welcomed. I can sincerely say that I look back to the period of my early connexion with you for the far greater part of the incentives, which have borne me on thus far in the career of life, and to which I shall be principally indebted for whatever it may be my good fortune to attain hereafter.

The details, which you gave me in relation to your children, could not but interest me, and I trust they may live to cheer and comfort you in the decline of life.

My sister's health is pretty good. The medical gentlemen, whom I consulted, think her in no danger of growing worse, if she exercises a proper discretion in her dress, diet, etc. In all this my wife and I endeavour to control her; but she is a giddy girl, and requires

incessant watchfulness. I am very much indebted to you for your suggestions, and will put them in execution.

My position in this county [1] is as favorable as I could have anticipated; but I have two or three rivals in politics, who will do all in their power to extend the period of my probation. I am, however, Chairman of the Central Committee, the body which regulates all the political concerns of the county; and I am the first, I presume, who has attained to that dignity after a single year's residence. In this capacity it has devolved on me to speak in public on several occasions, and I have met with uncommon success, when it is considered that my lips were hermetically sealed, as to all oratorical purposes, during my sixteen years' military service. I feel the want of practice exceedingly, and shall labour under this inconvenience, in all probability, to the end of my days. But, do you remember a few lessons Capt. Morse of the Army (formerly the tragedian) gave me at your solicitation in reading? They have an influence upon me to this day; and, if I ever do myself any credit as a speaker, it will be in a great degree the fruit of these early impressions. We have a debating society in the village, and I am a regular debater for the purpose of practice.

I have sent you from time to time several of my compositions; but as you do not acknowledge the reception of any of them, I fear they have miscarried. I sent you about a month ago a speech,[2] which I made on the occasion of forming an African Colonization Society in this County, and I shall send you another copy in the mail which will convey this to you. I sent a copy to Mr. Sullivan and another to Mr. Temple, but have not heard of the reception of either.

My wife unites with me in sincere prayers for the health and happiness of your children and yourself, and I remain, with the hope of hearing from you again and also of seeing you here at no distant time, Your friend and servant,

JOHN A. DIX.

COOPERSTOWN, 15th February, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your last would have been instantly answered but that I have been incessantly occupied since its reception by office business and an attendance on one of our Courts.

Your opinion of my Colonization speech is far above its merits, and I can readily account for it by referring to your long and devoted regard to me. I am invited by the Managers of the state

[1] Otsego County.

[2] November 12, 1829. An interesting letter of Jefferson on colonization is in Adams, *Writings of Gallatin*, II. 178.

society of New York to address the public at the Capitol in Albany in March or April, and have accepted the invitation. If my remarks are published, I will send you a copy.

It is with great reluctance that I listen for a moment to the suggestion that you may abandon your intention of visiting me, and I cannot relinquish the hope of seeing you. But, in the meantime, send George to us, and we will do what we can to make his visit agreeable. Whatever his temper of mind may be, we can find something to harmonize with it. We have books, magnificent scenery, society, and, indeed, almost everything we desire. June is our most delightful month, but we have none that is unpleasant between May and November. We shall expect to see him at no distant time. My wife goes to New York in the spring, but is always here by the first of June. She unites with me in best wishes for your health and happiness, and I remain, in haste, but with sincere regard, Your friend,

JOHN A. DIX.

COOPERSTOWN, 23rd December, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR, — I very much regretted that I had not the pleasure of seeing your son at my house last summer, as you encouraged me to expect; and I more particularly regret it as I am just breaking up my establishment here for a year or two and cannot, therefore, hope to see him next summer. I have indulged the hope of visiting Boston next spring, but fear I shall be disappointed. I am going to Albany on the first of January as Adjutant General of this State.[1] The appointment is a very respectable one, with the rank of Brigadier General and a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum. This will just about cover extraordinary expenses. My old friend, Haines,[2] occupied this place (under Governor Clinton) at the time of his death. It is rather a political, than a military, station, and on that account the more agreeable to me; for my martial propensities have been regularly declining from the moment you put me upon a literary track shortly after the termination of the War of 1812. I am not sure that the "spirit-stirring drum," even if assisted by all "the pomp and circumstance," etc., would have power to reanimate my latent aspirations after military fame.

I am very much hurried in making my arrangements for a removal, and am obliged to close. Perhaps I may have the pleasure of seeing George in Albany. I may not be at housekeeping; but I could nevertheless show him the Canal, Rail Road, and the other

[1] His appointment was dated January 4, 1831.
[2] Charles G. Haines.

lions of the place. With my regards to him and best wishes for yourself, I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully and truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

ALBANY, 25th January, 1832.

DEAR SIR, — I enclosed to you about a fortnight ago a report made to the Senate of this State upon two bills referred to me for examination last spring.[1] I hope you have received it. There is much in it which treats of details, and therefore not likely to interest those who are not connected with the militia. The whole militia system of this State was near been broken up last winter by hasty legislation. It will by the present legislature be sustained by nearly a unanimous vote; and I am induced by the declarations of the members to believe that the change of opinion has been wrought by the views presented by my report. I have cause, therefore, to be satisfied.

I have long flattered myself with the hope of seeing you in Boston, but my engagements are so constant that I can find no time to absent myself from the State. The duties of public officers in New York, those especially who are immediately connected with the government, are exceedingly arduous. My life is one of drudgery, without any present encouragement — I live altogether upon the future. For the last four years the state of parties has been nearly the same, and there is but little prospect of a change. Anti-masonry will be altogether extinguished at the next election, in November. We shall give General Jackson a very large majority; and, as we choose our electors by General ticket, he will receive the entire vote of this State. After his re-election we shall be less united, and many interesting events will flow out of our divisions. It is probably unnecessary to say to you that I am on the side of Mr. Van Buren, and that all my exertions will be lent to promote his advancement to the Chief Magistracy of the Union as the Successor of General Jackson. There is some hesitation at Washington in confirming his appointment,[2] and so far as his friends in this State are concerned, his rejection would be decidedly gratifying to the great majority of them. Those who are anxious that he should be confirmed, are so from public, rather than personal, considerations. His rejection might have an unfavorable influence upon the success of the negotiation, with which he is charged, relative to our North-Eastern boundary; but this is the only light, in which we should look upon it as unfortunate.

[1] On the militia system of the State. It is printed in Dix, *Speeches and Addresses*, II. 116.

[2] To be minister to Great Britain.

The next division of parties in the United States will, I am satisfied, turn rather upon principles than preferences for particular men. One of the principal causes of division will be the United States Bank; a second, though a less decided one, the question of reducing the revenues of the government to the standard of its ordinary expenditures, abandoning the whole system of internal improvement. I am of opinion with regard to the first, that there should be no recharter; and with regard to the second that our revenue, after discharging the public debt, should be reduced to the lowest possible standard. It should, I conceive, be a primary object with the government of the United States to divest the administration as far as possible of patronage, and so to regulate its imposition upon the industry of the citizens as to place the least possible amount of public wealth at its own disposition. The success of the great experiment which we are making in self-government, depends on the simplicity and quietude, with which the system is kept in operation. The administration of wealth almost necessarily leads to profusion and violent contentions. One of the results of such a system as I consider safe and likely to perpetuate the principles, on which our government is founded, may be a want of energy in times of emergency; but this is, I conceive, the only evil consequence, and it must be regarded as the price, which we pay for free-government. But I beg your pardon for this dissertation, and remain most respectfully and truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

COOPERSTOWN, 28 July, 1832.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have only time to say, that I return you my most sincere thanks for your kind letter last February and the excellent advice which it contained. The danger pointed out by you — that of acting in political matters under too strong an excitement of feeling — is unquestionably the most imminent, which I have to guard against. I feel it more sensibly from the self-examination, which I instituted immediately after the receipt of your letter, and I shall be the better able to avoid it. When I say that I have profited more by your counsels than by those of any other person living, I wish you to be assured that I put a proper estimate on them, and that they will always be received hereafter, in whatever situation it may be [my] lot to be placed, with pleasure and thankfulness.

I send by my brother two of my productions. I would particularly commend to your perusal the review of the article in the American Quarterly. It was written soon after the receipt of your

letter, and I believe it contains nothing, at which a political opponent could take offence. 'T is an honest view of the old slander of my friends in Albany under the name of "the money-changers." The Report of the Regents of the University is valuable for the documents it contains. The "Report" proper I wrote. The abstracts were prepared by the Secretary — this being mere manual labor. There is a single position in the report, which I would explain if I had time: but it may, perhaps, not need explanation. I have two or three other more recent productions, but they are purely political; and I will not trouble you to read them.

My brother is full of talent, and a noble-hearted boy — but he wants soberizing. He is rather impatient of advice, but listens to mine with patience, and follows it as often as any one who knows him would expect. He promises me to study Blackstone, etc., at his leisure so as to make himself acquainted with the general principles of law, and afterwards to pursue the course. You might excite his pride by setting forth the advantages he would derive from it, if you have an opportunity. But I must close. With my sincere prayers for your happiness, I am truly yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

ALBANY, 7 May, 1834.

MY DEAR SIR, — I should long ago have acknowledged your favor by your son George but for a great press of engagements since we had the pleasure of his company and my absence from the city during the last week. I return you my sincere thanks for the beautiful specimen of New England manufacture, which you were so kind as to send me, and assure you that I shall wear it with pride and satisfaction. My attachment to my native land has been in no wise diminished by my long absence from it, and I take a deep interest, as ever I shall, in whatever concerns her honor or her prosperity. The times, I know, are unfavorable to the prosecution of the great schemes of enterprize, in which she has embarked so great an amount of capital and industry. But I believe the embarrassments, which exist as well with us as with you, though not perhaps to the same extent, will soon pass away. A very intelligent friend of mine, who has devoted nearly his whole life to financial operations and studies, predicted a year ago all that we have experienced during the last six months.

With your son George both my wife and I are much delighted. He is intelligent, well-informed, and modest. Had it been my good fortune at his age to have half his discretion, I should have been spared much mortification and embarrassment in my journey thus

far through life. My wife and I urged him to stay at our house, but he declined separating himself from his travelling-companions. On his return we trust he will be able to pass a few days with us. If you could meet him here, we should be still more gratified.

I have been very anxiously looking forward to a period when I shall be able to visit Boston; but it still seems remote. The coming summer will probably bring with it as much labor as I have had thrown upon me during the three last. When I say to you that I have not been in Utica, ninety-six miles west of this city, during the last twelve years, you will be able to form some estimate of my domestic habits. I fear I cannot hope, as long as I hold my present office, to be less sedentary than I now am and indeed have been for the last three years.

It would give me much gratification to receive a visit from you, if it were but for a few days. [You] gave me some encouragement to expect it a few years ago; and your excursion could never be made at a better time. The progress of this State in the acquisition of wealth and in the extension of her internal commerce is uninterrupted, notwithstanding much, which you may have heard to the contrary on high authority. The receipts on account of tolls on our canals during the month of April exceed the receipts for that month in any previous year. With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I am, Dear Sir, most respectfully and truly your friend,

JOHN A. DIX.

ALBANY, 5 January, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I received your favor by Major Grafton [1] I have been constantly engaged — too much so to acknowledge its reception. Tomorrow our legislature meets. I have four reports to make, neither of which is finished, and two of which are not even begun. I say this by way of apology for the brief note, which I am about to write.

I did all I could for Major Grafton. My father-in-law, Mr. Morgan, who is in Congress, and to whom I wrote has interested himself strongly in the application. I received a letter from him after Major Grafton's departure saying that he had spoken to the Secretary of War several times on the subject. The Secretary is well disposed, and I trust the appointment will be made. The Major

[1] The army lists give Joseph Grafton, of Massachusetts, captain 21st infantry, March 24, 1812, major, June 26, 1813, resigned, September 1, 1814, and was Surveyor of the port of Boston, 1843–1845. The object is explained in the next letter.

must be admonished, however, of the uncertainty of all such matters.

We are all well, and my wife is much obliged by your friendly remembrance. When you see or write to George, please remember us to him.

When my reports are printed, I will send them to you. My health is good, and I feel well. My position here, in all but the compensation annexed to it, suits me, although it is full of responsibility. Massachusetts affords no idea, in her political or statistical concerns, of the burden, which is thrown upon public officers here. We are worked hard in our offices; and, as political men, we have our hands full with the inroads of aristocracy on the one side and agrarianism on the other. The middle course, held with perseverance and firmness, has proved our safety in all emergencies; for whenever danger has appeared from either of the two parties referred to, we are sure to be reinforced from the other. I feel easy, because I feel independent. I could leave my post at any moment without reluctance, and with the assurance that, with a reasonable share of health, I should be able to discharge all my obligations to those, who are dependent on me. But the probability is that I shall remain where I am for some time to come. The State is decidedly with Mr. Van Buren, and nothing can detach the majority of the people from him.

But I must bid you adieu for the present. When I commenced, I did not expect to write so long a letter. When you have nothing better to do, please let me hear from you, and believe me, ever, sincerely yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

ALBANY, 16th May, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 7th of April came to hand in due time, and I laid it aside to answer it when the legislature should have adjourned and the press of business in my office should have somewhat subsided. I did not discover until I reperused it to-day that I had been guilty of an omission in failing to answer promptly that part of it, which relates to young Grafton.[1] I supposed that, in asking my opinion with regard to a further attempt to procure the appointment of cadet for him "next June" (of which you thought there was still a hope), you meant June, 1836. On a more careful examination I perceive you meant June now at hand. As the cadets recently appointed are to be at West Point in the first week of next month, all vacancies, if any have occurred, will ere

[1] Henry Dearborn Grafton (1817–1855), cadet, July, 1835, served in the Mexican war, reaching the rank of captain, and resigned in 1854.

this have been filled, and I presume it is now too late to renew the attempt we made in favor of your young friend. I was disappointed to hear he had not succeeded. From the confident expectation indulged by Mr. Morgan, I am sure he was equally so. I can only add, that, if the appointment has not already come, I stand ready to unite next year in another effort to procure it.

The legislature has adjourned, and I am somewhat relieved of the immediate pressure of business. I am sorry to say, however, that I see little prospect of relief even for a month or two in summer. I have to prepare for taking the census under the authority of the State, and the legislature have called on me to report a plan for a geological survey of the State at the next session. I have, therefore, the prospect of a busy summer, and the autumn and winter bring with them full employment. I regret it, for I had indulged the hope of once more seeing you before another revolution of the seasons should be complete. This hope I must relinquish, unless you will make us a visit — an event, which my family would most sincerely rejoice in.

On the seventh instant my wife presented me with a daughter. The mother, the new-comer and my three boys are all well; and I have to acknowledge the further kindness of Providence in according to me an unusual share of health.

My wife unites with me in best regards to you, and returns her thanks for the friendly invitation in your last to make you a visit. I am, Dear Sir, most truly and respectfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

ALBANY, 4th January, 1836.

MY DEAR SIR, — I beg you to accept for yourself and your family my wife's and my best wishes and congratulations on the commencement of a new year, which we trust will prove to you an auspicious one.

Tomorrow commences the session of our legislature. It brings with it constant employment for me during the next four months and a half, and I, therefore, avail myself of the last moment remaining to me to write you a few lines. My geological report will be sent in the day after tomorrow, together with a report on the common schools, both of which I have written since the 18th of November. With respect to the former I feel a good deal of anxiety, for the very sufficient reason that I know nothing whatever of the subject, excepting from a little general reading. I shall, of course, send it to you, and I shall do so with fear and trembling. I know how sincere is your friendship, and I feel that no one would be more

mortified than you if it were to prove a failure. It has been written, I must say in justice to myself, under great disadvantages. A variety of circumstances prevented me from devoting a single day to a preliminary examination of authorities or to reading until the eighteenth of November. Besides, of about thirty gentlemen, to whom I have addressed letters asking their opinions, only seven returned answers, and these were so very brief and in such general terms as to be, with two or three exceptions, of no service to me whatever. I was desirous of sending in copies of those last referred to with my report, but I have explained why I could not with propriety do so. Dr. Jackson's letter was of the number, which I was anxious to have published. Should the survey be executed, he ought to be one of the geologists, and I apprehend no difficulty about the matter, if he should be disposed to take part in it. Whether the legislature will authorize the survey this winter is doubtful. Should such authority be given, I will inform you immediately.

Mr. Morgan, during his absence last fall, was put in nomination as a member of the legislature, and was elected in the City of New York. He and Mrs. Morgan have been with us a month. This arrangement, as you may suppose, is to us a very agreeable one. With my best regards to all your family, I am, my dear sir, Your sincere friend,

JOHN A. DIX.

WASHINGTON, 14 November, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had the pleasure to receive, half an hour ago, your favor of the 11th instant, having arrived here the evening before last with my family. I have often thought of writing to you during the last year; but my engagements in the Senate absolutely compelled me to relinquish my private correspondence, and I hoped, not without reason as your kind letter shows, that by addressing documents to you from time to time I should succeed in assuring you that you were ever in my thoughts.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than to visit with you the burial-place of our common ancestor when it shall have been reclaimed from the oblivion, into which it has been falling, by your liberality. I hope it may be in my power to do so before another year passes away. But I have so long looked forward to summer succeeding summer with the determination to revisit my native village and the scattered few in New England, whose ancestors are also mine, and have so often been disappointed, that I no longer venture to indulge any confident hope of realizing my wishes. Still, the opportunity may be presented to me when least expected, and it

will be joyfully embraced. Notwithstanding my long absence from New England, my attachment to it, and my respect for its institutions and the character of its inhabitants, strengthen as I advance in years.

Your kind interest in all that concerns me induces me to give you some family details. Morgan and Baldwin, my two eldest boys, are in Columbia College. The former entered the Sophomore class, immediately took the head of it, and now maintains his place in the Junior. The second entered the Freshman, and has a highly respectable standing in the Sophomore. They are both boys of decided talent, good dispositions and unexceptionable habits. They live with Mr. Morgan, who has within the last six months become quite infirm, and will not probably remain more than a year or two longer among us.

My wife's health is not strong, and she has recently been threatened with a return of her former affection of the chest. We are trying to avert the danger, and I indulge a confident hope that we shall succeed. Should her health again become seriously disordered, I shall throw aside all public employment, and go again to the South of Europe. I say to *you* (what I beg you not to repeat) that the President tendered to me the Mission to London before it was offered to Mr. Bancroft; but I was induced by a variety of circumstances to decline it. As a mark of his confidence it was a proposition, which I could not but receive with gratification. The fact has been stated by some of the letter-writers; but it is in the nature of a rumor, so far as the public is concerned; and I desire that it should remain so. I mention it to you because I know everything that concerns the little boy, who lived with you thirty-four years ago on the south side of Cambridge Street, and crossed with you over to the corner of Staniford to take possession of the new house, is interesting.

My wife sends her kindest regards to you, and begs to be remembered to your family. I can hardly have the face to ask you to write to so poor a correspondent as myself; and yet I will hope that I may now and then hear from you. Any information in relation to yourself and my native New England will always be gratefully received by, my Dear Sir, your relative and sincere friend,

JOHN A. DIX.

WASHINGTON, 31 January, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR, — I believe it is a long time since I have written to you; but I am also sure you will attribute my silence to anything but forgetfulness of you. My time is very much engrossed by my public duties. Since I have been in the Senate, it seems to me there

has been a perpetual procession of very troublesome and exciting questions — first, the annexation of Texas, next the Oregon dispute, and now the most perplexing and unpleasant of all, the Mexican war. On the latter I have just made a speech,[1] of which I will send you a copy in a few days. By the bye, I sent you last winter a speech I made on the extension of slavery to new territory — another vexatious question, which I did not mention in my enumeration on the last page.

You sent me a long time ago the Life of Jeremiah Smith,[2] which I read with great pleasure. I was very much interested in the earlier details of his public life before the commencement of his judicial service. Indeed, I consider it altogether a very interesting biography — one a stranger to him may read with great gratification. To me it was particularly so because I had a most vivid recollection of him. If you will turn to page 252, you will see his return from Concord to Exeter and his reception at the latter place mentioned. I was then a member of the Academy and walked out in the road with a fellow-student to meet him. The rain poured down in torrents, and my companion carried the umbrella, which he managed so awkwardly that he was constantly knocking me on the head with the handle. We were walking just opposite the Governor, who was on horseback, when I received so hard a blow from my companion that I broke out into a very loud and vehement expression of my disapprobation. The Governor heard me, and turned directly round, fixing his sharp, sparkling eyes upon me. It was the first time I had ever encountered a Governor, face to face, and being conscious of my want of courtesy, I do not think I could have felt much worse if I had been shot. I have never forgotten that piercing glance to this day. Whether it was the recollection of this scene, which has interested me so much in the Judge's biography I will not say, but I have certainly read it with very great pleasure.

My wife, whose health is usually delicate, is now pretty well. She has a hereditary tendency to cough; but I think if she could go to a southern climate for two or three years, she might hope for a comfortable old age.

Morgan, my eldest son, is at the head of the Senior class at Columbia College and will graduate in July. He is a very fine boy, and I should be very glad to introduce him to you. Indeed, Heaven has blessed me in all my children. We have six, and they all seem healthy and good tempered, with intelligence enough for respectability, if not for eminence. My wife joins me in kindest remem-

[1] January 26, 1848. In Dix, *Speeches and Addresses*, I. 198.
[2] By John H. Morison, published in 1845.

brance to you and to all your family, and I am ever faithfully Your friend,

JOHN A. DIX.

Mrs. Frederick C. Shattuck has presented to the Society the following letter written to her father, Henry Lee:

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTEAD TO HENRY LEE, JR.

NEW YORK, March 5th, 1865.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have seen your letter on West Point which is to be published in the *Nation* and take the liberty of sending for your perusal a letter on the general subject of military education which contains some important suggestions. I should have endeavored to write upon the general question which this letter raises if I had felt myself to be sufficiently well-informed on the subject. As I know that you have given it much study may I ask that you will take the duty of preparing one or two short leading articles for the *Nation* upon the subject of the education of competent officers for militia and volunteer service?

My crude notion of what should be done is this: that government should offer encouragement to the formation of a class of Polytechnic schools, the pupils of which or a portion of the pupils of which should receive a certain measure of military education. The pupils to receive the benefit of the national appropriation to be chosen by competitive examination — examination to be made by agents of the War Department, candidates for examination to be nominated [by] the States (through the Superintendent of Common Schools, I should hope), successful candidates to be considered as wards of the War Department, and subject to a system of inspection and surveillance of officers detached from the regular army for this purpose. These officers might be stationed at the schools as part of the faculty — individuals being shifted as at West Point, but the office permanent. The education offered should be less purely military than at West Point, so as to fit the young men to engage at once on graduating in the general industrial system of the country, as civil engineers, draughtsmen, architects, metallurgists, mining and mechanical engineers, etc., etc. The need of *well-prepared students* in all these callings is and always has been very great in the country. The existing schools for them, at Cambridge, New Haven, Troy, Princeton and elsewhere might at once be adopted as the nuclei of the system proposed — Congress endowing a company or battalion of scholarships in each — and if this suggestion were adopted, perhaps the

agricultural schools would form other nuclei. There is no need that the system should be uniform — only that the result in the certain measure of military education should be uniform or nearly so in all the schools.

There comes then a secondary yet very important and difficult question of the subsequent military duties and privileges which should belong to the graduates. Could a selection of volunteers from these Polytechnic schools be taken for further and more extended military instruction at West Point — West Point thus becoming a finishing school for regular officers?

My own judgment is that no obligation of service to government should rest upon the Polytechnic scholars after graduation but it should be left to their sense of honor and military and patriotic spirit to offer their services upon occasion.

There is also a question whether any obligation to make use of the services of these graduates in their militia system could be placed on the States, or whether their selection should be left to voluntary election.

There is still another question, whether a system of instruction or at least of inspection of militia forces by officers detached from the regular army might not be established with advantage? One grand result of such a system would be that officers of the regular army would no longer be isolated during their whole career from the people of the country, and be as incapable of commanding volunteer forces, or of entertaining the idea of making use of volunteer forces with any confidence, as most of the regular officers were at the outbreak of the rebellion.

In any system for the preliminary instruction of a body of young men in the duties of military officers, such as I have suggested, there should be some arrangement which would give them more experience of something like campaigning life than the present summer camp of West Point. The most important and the most difficult class of duties to be taught volunteer or militia officers are those commonly called in the army, *administrative* — which might be called "house-keeping" or parental. It was their ignorance of these and ignorance of their duty to acquire a knowledge of them which caused the uselessness and enormous extravagance which generally was remarked whenever militia forces were called into the field during the late war, more than ignorance of the more purely or technically military duties.

You will, I trust, excuse these hasty indications of the line in which my own reflections on the subject run, and of the points upon which light is needed by the public from those who have studied it more thoroughly. It is a matter of the greatest national importance,

and if it has the go-by now, we can hardly hope that it will ever again have proper consideration until at least we have gone through another period of war.

Of course it is not possible, nor would it be desirable in the present stage of the discussion to lay down a well defined plan in the *Nation* and adhere to it. The tone of the article should therefore be suggestive and speculative rather than positive, so as to turn public attention in a practical way to a matter needing grave consideration.
Very Truly and Respectfully Yours,

FRED. LAW OLMSTEAD,
for the Editor of the *Nation.*

THE COLONIAL POST OFFICE.

From the George Peabody Wetmore Papers are taken the following notes of meetings of the American Post Office in 1774, probably the only portion of its records in existence:[1]

At a Board, *Monday*, 28th November, 1774. *Present:* John Foxcroft, Hugh Finlay, Esquires.

R. N. C.[2]

A hint has been given to Mr. Foxcroft that a Shilling is demanded for the Postage of a Letter between Philadelphia and New York, whereas it should be but 10½. *Ordered*, That the Secretary do make enquiry at the Post Office and learn, how much is received at the Office for a single letter from Philadelphia, and how much the Runner demands for his trouble.

Ordered: that a Circular be written on the 5th of January, and sent that day to all the Deputies, to be very punctual in transmitting their Quarterly Accounts the very first post after the Quarter ends, and to remit the Balances due thereon, with Vouchers for all Monies paid; and that they transmit as soon as possible the names of all places of Note which lie nearer to their Office than to any other, to the end that a Table may be printed as a guide to Postmasters in making up their Mails. Mr. Dixon[3] should be wrote to in a very particular pressing manner on this head, that he may send

[1] See also Finlay, *Journal*, 1867.

[2] Richard Nicholls Colden, Sup. 175, *infra.*

[3] Probably John Dixon, printer of the *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg, Virginia. The printers of newspapers found it their interest to be postmasters, or connected with the post office.

the Accounts regularly from those who account to him, and should constantly inform the Secretary when the Riders are not punctual. And as it appears necessary that the business of the Secretary, and the business of the Comptroller be fixed, seeing that both Employments are held under One Commission — Let it be settled as follows:

The Comptroller's business is, and shall henceforth be untill new Orders:

To keep regular Books of Account, and in them to enter punctually as soon as received the Sum due by every Deputy, as it shall appear by his accounts every Quarter, and to give him Credit for every remittance or payment as soon as received, that at one view the true state of every Deputy Account may at any time be seen by the Deputy Post Masters General, when they may chuse to examine the Books.

The Comptroller is without fail to write to every Deputy who shall be more than a Month after the Quarter ends, in sending his Accounts, and if he does not transmit them by return of the post after the demand made, he is to inform the D. Post Master General thereof.

And as soon after the 5th day of every April as possible, he is to make up from his Books a General Account in the form prescribed by the Post Master General, that the Deputies General may examine it by his Books and Vouchers, and transmit it to England with the Balance arising thereon, by the June Packet in every year, and the Comptroller is to take care to have all the Deputies Accounts in due time that he may be enabled to obey this Order punctually.

All the Accounts and Letters which he receives should be folded up, in one and the same length and breadth, and regularly endorsed and laid up in Alphabetical order — and every Letter which he writes to Deputies, or to other people on Office Business must be entered in a book kept for that purpose. He is by every Packet to provide a good Bill of Exchange on London, at 30 days sight, for £100. Sterling at least: that the Deputy General may remit it to the Receiver General in England.

The Secretary.

Is at all times to be ready to attend the Deputy Post Masters General on Office Business, and in particular to give due attendance at the Board every Monday, and every Thursday at 11 oClock in the forenoon.

He is to keep a fair Copy of the Minutes of the business transacted, or ordered to be transacted every Board day.

He is to lay before the Board all Letters he receives on Office business, and to keep these Letters in proper form, regularly folded up and indorsed. He is to enter in the Office Letter Book all Letters written by the Deputies General, or by their order.

He is to keep in proper order all Bonds given by Deputies, Riders, etc.

He is to supply all Deputies with proper Forms, and Official Papers, and he is to take care to have a sufficient quantity in his possession at all times.

A. B. 20th Nov'r. Whenever an Order, entered in the Minute Book is fulfilled, he is to put the initials of his Name before it in the Margin, with the day of the Month, as this is done.

Ordered, that a brass Seal be cut for every Office.

R. N. C. 26. Dec'r. That a Letter be wrote to Mr. Dixon of Williamsburg, desiring him to send by return of Post, an account of the departure of the Post for Hobs Hole from Williamsburg, and the time when he returns.

At a Board, *Thursday*, 1st December 1774. *Present:* John Foxcroft, Esquire.

Ordered, that a Letter be wrote to Mr. Child, Deputy at Falmouth, that no allowance can be made to him for franking, nor no office rent.

Also a Letter to Eleazer Russel that no allowance can be made for franking.

Also a Letter to Mr. Norice, Salem, with a Commission and Papers.

R. N. C. Also a Letter to B. Emerson, Newbury, that all persons delivering Letters into the Office are entitled to 1*d* and that he is entitled to 1*d* more for delivering them.

26 Dec'r. R. N. C. Also a Letter to Mr. Hubbard at Boston, That he is to bring Mumford under an Obligation to deliver the Mail at Boston by 12 oClock Saturday otherwise he must look out for another Rider, and tell him to be very careful at all times that the Riders depart from the Town the moment they get the mail, and that he should employ a runner to carry out Letters as at New York and Philadelphia.

Also a Letter to Mr. Vernon to know what a Boy can be engaged for to carry over the Mail to Towerhill twice a Week when a change of the route takes place.

That a Letter be written to Mr. Sands of Tower Hill, with a commission and papers.

That a Letter be written to Mr. Miller of New London, to order Hurd the Rider and his associate, Peet, to cross the Connecticut above Saybrook when there's floating Ice or any impediment at the ordinary ferry.

That a Letter be written to the Deputy at Fairfield to make particular enquiry of Mr. Burr, the High Sherriff, about overcharges in the Postages of Letters which he has been obliged to pay to the Riders before they would deliver the Letters.

26 Dec'r. That a Letter be written to Mr. Bodoin to care of Mr. Dixon, That the Deputies General cannot see a necessity for employing a Rider from Philadelphia to Norfolk by the Eastern shore; therefore that we shall not enter on the subject of his Ferry boat for carrying the Mails across Chesapeak Bay.

That a Letter be written to Mr. Ramsay to set forth in a clear Manner the necessity of two posts a week between Philadelphia and Alexandria if he can, that another may be established if it will now go nigh to defray the expence of an additional rider.

That a Letter be written to Thomas Foxcroft, Esqr., to enquire into a Complaint made of the Rider between Philadelphia and Annapolis — he keeps his horse on the wrong side of Susquehanna ferry which occasions delays; to have this explained.

Ordered, That an advertisement be published in all the New York papers immediately and be continued four Weeks or longer if necessary, and also in the Philadelphia and Boston papers — That from the 14th of this month there will be two Posts Weekly for Canada by way of Albany, one as usual riding on the East side

of Hudsons River on Wensday, when the Mail will be made up at Eleven oClock; and the other on Saturday riding on the West side of the River, the Mail closed at 9 oClock at night. The first returns to New York with a Canada Mail on Tuesday Evening at 4 oClock, and the Second on Saturday midday.

R. N. C. *Ordered*, that a small Book be provided by the Secretary in which he is to enter all Commissions granted to Deputies, and he is to mark them sent as in Margin; and when a Commission is sent he is to give information thereof immediately to the Comptroller for his guidance in opening an Account for him, and when any Deputy is removed or resigns the Secretary is also to advise the Comptroller thereof.

At a Board on *Monday*, the 5th December, 1774. *Present:* John Foxcroft, Hugh Finlay, Esquires.

Ordered That the Secretary do give in to the Deputy Post Master here and his Clerks a very strict charge

R. N. C. against suffering any person or persons whatsoever, who have not taken the Oaths of Post office from entering the Post office on any pretence whatsoever.

That all Post Riders be furnished with a set of Instructions according to the *Form* which Form may be varied according to circumstances in the Ride.

That the Secretary give directions to the Deputies of New York and Philadelphia that in time to come all Letters for Burlington be sent in the Bristol Bag, the Office at Burlington being drop'd on account of the Governor of the Jerseys being removed from thence to Amboy.

That by every Packet an account of appointments of Deputy Post Masters, since the Last Packet be made out by the Secretary ready to be transmitted home by the Deputies General, and also an Account of all dismissions and resignations with Reasons assigned as is directed by the Instructions, dated 2d March, 1774. This may be taken from the Commission Book.

R. N. C. That the Deputies of every place where a News Paper is published, be ordered to transmit the Papers by every Ship from their parts under a Cover directed to Anthony Todd, Esquire, Secretary at the General Post Office, London.

That the Comptroller send Comptrollers Bill to Mr. Russel.

At a Board on *Thursday*, December 8th, 1774. *Present:* John Foxcroft, Esqr.

The Secretary read a Letter received by yesterdays Post from Thomas Foxcroft, Esqr., relating to Burrows the old Rider. *Ordered*, that a Letter be written to Mr. Foxcroft to reinstate Burrows on Mr. Kirkbridies becoming his Security for the faithful discharge of his Duty.

R. N. C. Dec'r. 9.

The Secretary also read a Letter from Mr. Carter of Providence concerning the change of the Route from Towerhill to Greenwich. *Ordered*, the Secretary to acquaint Mr. Carter[1] that some time before the receipt of his Letter the Deputy Post-Master General had directed Mr. Vernon of Newport to engage a Bye Rider between New Port and Towerhill to prevent the Delays at present complained of, and that Mr. Carter immediately make out and transmit hither without delay his Accounts to the 5th of October last, together with the Balance due, otherwise another person will be appointed to take charge of the Office at Providence.

R. N. C. Dec'r. 12th.

At a Board on *Monday*, the 12th of December, 1774. *Present:* John Foxcroft, Esquire.

The Board met this Day but no business was transacted on account of the melancholy situation of Mr. Colden, Secretary and Comptroller, who lay at the Point of Death.

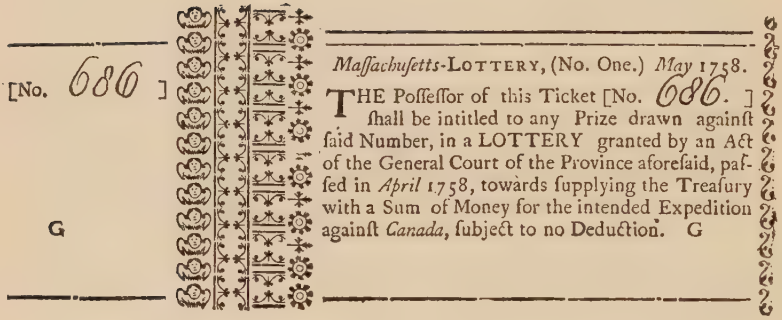
At a Board on *Thursday*, 15th December, 1774. *Present*: John Foxcroft, Esqr.

The Board being informed by Mr. Richard N. Colden of the decease of his Father, Alexander Colden,[2] Esquire, late Secretary and Comptroller, who died on the 12th Instant, have appointed Mr. Richard Nicholls Colden their Secretary and Comptroller in the Room of his Father deceased 'till further Orders are received from

[1] John Carter, printer of the *Providence Gazette*.
[2] Son of Cadwallader Colden.

His Majesty's Post Master General. Therefore *Ordered*, that Mr. Colden transact the Business of Secretary and Comptroller 'till further Orders.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. WASHBURN, NORCROSS, GREEN, and HART.


[No. 686]

G

Maſſachuſetts-LOTTERY, (No. One.) *May* 1758.

THE Poſſeſſor of this Ticket [No. 686.] ſhall be intitled to any Prize drawn againſt ſaid Number, in a LOTTERY granted by an Act of the General Court of the Province aforeſaid, paſſed in *April* 1758, towards ſupplying the Treaſury with a Sum of Money for the intended Expedition againſt *Canada*, ſubject to no Deduction. G

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts and purchases:

From Mr. William F. Johnson, an engraving of the "Medal Scholars" of the public schools of Boston, 1853, and a campaign cut with the legend "Uncle Ben [Butler] to George D. [Robinson.]"

From Mr. Fred Joy, a medal of the American Numismatic Association, 1916, and one of the Carriage Builders' Association, Boston.

From Mr. Alfred Bowditch, the following engravings and English political caricatures of high interest:

Boston views:

L'Entrée au Port de Boston. D'après le Tableau de Vernet.

Raadhuset i Boston, without the name of artist or engraver.

View of the Court House in Boston. Erected in 1811 and 1812. Drawn and engraved by J. Kidder.

Boston Common. Drawn by Hammatt Billings and engraved by J. A. Rolph, for the *Boston Miscellany*.

Boston from Roxbury. Drawn by J. R. Smith and engraved by Carter, Andrews and Co.

British Political caricatures:

The European Race, Heat II. 1738. B. M. 2415.[1]

The European Race, Heat III. 1739. B. M. 2431.

Byng Return'd: or the Council of Expedients. 1756. B. M. 3367.

A New Emblematical Print lately exhibited at The Hague. From the *Literary Magazine*. 1757. B. M. 3475.

The Fishermen. 1762. B. M. 3876.

The Congress; or, A Device to lower the Land Tax. 1762. B. M. 3887.

The Jack-Boot kick'd down, or English Will Triumphant. 1762. B. M. 3965.

[1] British Museum Catalogue of Political Caricatures.

Plate from the Butiad. 1763. B. M. 4013.
The Seizure, or give the Devil his Due. 1763. B. M. 4026.
The Waistcoat. 1767. B. M. 4131.
The Colossus. 1767. B. M. 4178.
Hercules cleaning the Augean Stable. 1768. B. M. 4186.
Renard stating his Accounts. 1769. B. M. 4299.
Dr. Musgrave prescribing for Britannia, who is in a deep consumption. 1769. B. M. 4307.
The Reception in 1760. B. M. 4373.
The Fox in the Horrors, a Vision. 1770. B. M. 4377.
A Recorder on his Pilgrimage. 1770. B. M. 4408.
A Coalition Medal, struck in Brass (Fox and North). 1783.
Carlo Khan's triumphal Entry into Leadenhall Street (Fox, North and Burke). 1783.
The Apostate Jack R— [Robinson?], the Political Rat Catcher. 1784.
Mars and Venus, or Sir Cecil [ ] chastised. 1784.
The Dutchess [of Devonshire] canvassing for her favourite Member. 1784.
Her * * * * * [Grace] carrying a Plumper for Charley [Fox]. 1784.
Procession to the Hustings after a successful Canvass. 1784.
The Fall of Phaeton. 1788.
The first Charge — exit in Fumo (Burke). 1788.
Frontispiece to Dr. Bellendenus's Sermon. 1800.
John Bull ask'd at Saint Stephens!!! 1800.
The Vision of the Three Cats, a Fable (Prince Regent). 1800.

The Editor reported the following gifts and purchases:

From Frances Gerry Keene, of Lynn, a series of forty-five letters from Elbridge Gerry to his brother, Samuel Russell Gerry, of Marblehead from 1776 to 1800; twenty papers relating to the fort at Marblehead under the command of Thomas Gerry, 1744–1764, with his commissions from Governors Shirley, 1744 and 1753, and Bernard, 1764; fifteen miscellaneous documents; a volume containing five orations on the "tragedy" of March 5, 1770; a letter book of Samuel R. Gerry, Jr., 1831–1843; and two curious and elaborate studies on navigation by Samuel Russell, early in the eighteenth century. This gift is described in the following letter:

11 GROSVENOR PARK,
LYNN, January 31st, 1917.

To the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

I am giving to the Society certain manuscript letters and record books, which have come to me from my ancestor, Samuel Russell Gerry, of Marblehead. These letters contain some papers and commissions of an earlier generation — Thomas Gerry, who was in

command of the fort at Marblehead, under the Provincial Government, and some notebooks on navigation made by Samuel Russell, in the early part of the 18th century. The letters include a large number from Elbridge Gerry, brother of Samuel Russell Gerry; and the record books are those of Samuel Russell, a merchant of Marblehead.

I wish these papers to be kept as a memorial of my ancestor, and to be known as the "Samuel Russell Gerry Papers," to be accessible to students of history, on the freest terms consistent with their preservation. Very truly yours,

FRANCES GERRY KEENE.

From Dean Hodges, a letter of William Everett dated January 22, 1907; and a photostat of the letter from William Dyer to the Magistrates of the Massachusetts Bay, August 30, 1659, asking them to spare the life of his wife, Mary Dyer.

From R. W. Lull, of Manchester, N. H., six letters of Charles W. Tuttle, a member of this Society, on the muster rolls of the New Hampshire forces in 1745 and 1756.

By purchase:

Four diaries kept by George Dana Noyes (H. C. 1851) in 1863, 1864, 1869 and 1870.

A parchment deed, dated February 23, 1628–29, between Thomas, Lord Coventry and Sir Richard Shilton on the one part, and Sir Walter Heveningham of Pype, Staffordshire, Matthew Cradock of Carswall, and Robert Challoner of Stone, in the same county. Apart from the autographs and seals of Lord Coventry and Sir Richard Shilton, the parchment bears the signature and seal of Matthew Cradock, father of the first governor of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay.

Papers of Col. John McNeil, of New Hampshire, when recruiting officer in 1819–1820.

Papers of the ship *Julia and Helen* for a voyage from Boston to Sacramento City, California, 1848–1852, and of the ship *Galileo*, sailing from Boston to San Francisco, 1849–1854. The papers thus cover voyages at the outbreak of the "gold fever" of 1849.

Papers (1811–1841) of Jacob Pennell, a shipmaster of Portland, Maine, descriptive of a number of his shipping ventures.

A volume in the writing of Nahum Mitchell, of Bridgewater, a member of this Society, containing forms of writs, pleas and other processes, largely drawn from the colonial records, and a record of matters brought before him as Justice of the Peace, 1797–1822.

Two MS. poems entitled "Courteous reply to the Needham bard"

and "The Will," satires aimed at the Rev. Thomas Noyes of West Needham.

Some papers of Samuel Blodget, a merchant of Manchester, New Hampshire, with Boston connections.

Deeds, wills and other documents (1644–1825) of the Dow family, the first-comer, Henry Dow removing before 1655 from Watertown to Hampton, Norfolk county.

William Sumner Appleton, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of our late associate Nathaniel Paine, and called upon Mr. Davis, who said:

The eighty-four years, five months and eight days which measured the life of our late associate Nathaniel Paine were practically all of them passed in Worcester and were coincident with the growth of the place from a thriving agricultural village where sundry incipient manufacturing enterprises were just starting, to the bustling, active and wealthy city of to-day. In the days of Mr. Paine's early childhood the sound of the locomotive whistle had not reached the ears of the resident villagers, but every morning the main street of Worcester was enlivened by the movement of stages, destined for nearly every point of the compass, as they drove from tavern to tavern picking up their passenger loads. Mill Brook then paralleled Main Street, in its downward career through the valley on its way to join the Blackstone, and its waters which sparkled in the sunlight as they fed the various water-powers along its course were still pure enough to serve to alleviate the thirst of cattle and horses at the ford on the North Side of Lincoln Square. They were also used as a feeder for the Blackstone Canal, and Mr. Paine must have seen boats from Providence, tied up at the wharf in the basin on the south side of Front Street, near where the Union Station now stands. The brook itself has since then entirely disappeared, its foul and contaminated water having been covered over, and the entire stream converted into a closed sewer.

The methods of illumination in the village, town, and city have during the same period undergone great changes. The whale-oil with which people served themselves in his youth gave place to gas and kerosene, which in turn have been practi-

cally displaced by electricity, thus greatly affecting conditions of life both in the home and in the highway.

In the business world he could have noted almost the entire development of the use of the corporation as an instrument through which the accumulated capital of persons who could not themselves participate directly in industrial enterprises, might nevertheless find an avenue of investment in that direction. The corporations which appealed to investors in his early youth were principally Banks and Insurance Companies. Transportation Companies represented by Turnpikes and Canals did not prove to be attractive and soon gave way to Railroads. The one thing which seems to have attracted Mr. Paine in a business way was banking, and this was carried on in the growing town where his fortunes were cast, along the lines of the credit and good standing of the borrower and as far as was possible with a view to benefit local enterprises. It was not necessary then for bankers to hunt for notes of Chicago and Kansas City packing houses. Their clients stood at their doors and the money lent was disbursed almost in sight of the lenders. Doubtless these features of the banking situation had to do with his choice of a profession.

The expansion of a growing municipality involves the conversion of farms and forests into streets and dwellings, and the octogenarian who can recall the bucolic simplicity of the scene which modern activities have supplanted will always prove of interest to his fellow-townsmen. It was the delight of some of Mr. Paine's friends to draw him out on subjects of this nature. He had seen the growing city clamber over the hills which enclosed the narrow valley where it had its birth, and spread out over the regions beyond, and it was a pleasure to him to point out the marvellous changes which had taken place under his eye. His memory was replete with reminiscences which might in conversation be suggested by the mention of sites or events, from which he could draw at will.

The head of the Worcester branch of the Paine family was Timothy Paine, a well known loyalist, who as Mandamus Councillor was compelled by his neighbors to resign this position, and was afterwards humiliated by being taken before an assemblage of patriots where he was obliged to repeat in public the words of his resignation. One of the sons of the old tory,

Dr. William Paine, himself a tory and a refugee, was deprived of his property and of his citizenship by the Refugee Act. When later in life he wished to return to Worcester, he was obliged to procure naturalization through special legislation. He was a highly cultivated, distinguished man, and his portrait hanging on the walls of Antiquarian Hall so closely resembles Nathaniel Paine that the casual observer could not fail to note the likeness. Of Timothy Paine, William Lincoln wrote that he was a man of "solid talents, practical sense, candor, sincerity, affability and mildness," words which as far as they go would also serve the memorialist in a description of his great-grandson. It is interesting to note those physical and mental resemblances, and when we recall the bitter resentments which the revolutionary collision stirred up between these men, the tory and the refugee and their neighbors, we can but ask ourselves would it have been possible that one so considerate of others as our Nat could have aroused such passion as was then exhibited by the patriots. I speak thus familiarly of him because a continuous friendship of upwards of seventy years justifies it.

Our sketch has, up to this point, merely disclosed the conditions under which these eighty-four years and upwards of life were passed, and the hereditary tendencies which affected or controlled them. It has enabled us to get a glimpse of the late years of Mr. Paine's life when reminiscence had superseded research; but to complete the picture, a few words must be said of the period covering the fullness of his activity during which his career was rounded out, and his reputation for reliability became established.

Quite early in life he developed certain tastes which adhered to him throughout his career with a tenacity fully equal to that which linked his business activities to the counter of a bank. He was a born collector, and I remember him as a mere boy, at least I think I do, as a collector of buttons. I am sure that soon after photographs came in he made a collection of Madonnas. Perhaps it was the knowledge of the masterpieces of the world, obtained by this piece of work, which stimulated his interest in Art and led him to co-operate in founding the Art Society.

In later years he concentrated his tastes as a collector upon historical subjects, and although he was probably hampered

somewhat by lack of means his collection must have many things in it of rarity and value.

In the performance of his routine official duties he gradually acquired a reputation for steadfastness of purpose and fidelity in administration, which as time rolled on became more and more appreciated and his name became associated, in honorable recognition, with many organizations and societies in Worcester whose object was to promote the social development of the place. Faithful in the performance of those trusts, and above all true to himself in always putting forth his best efforts, he won for himself in this modest and unambitious career a reputation for honesty, fidelity and uprightness which received the hearty approval of his fellow citizens. The continuous nature of this recognition of his fitness for positions of trust was grateful to him, and in the sketch of his life furnished to *Who's Who in America,* written presumably by himself, he proudly notes that he was in the service of one bank for about sixty years; that he was a director of the Public Library for eighteen years; that he was Treasurer of the Horticultural Society twenty-six years; and Treasurer of the Antiquarian Society forty-four years. As a politician he was, as might have been expected, a failure. His friends sought to make use of him in the municipal council, but the record of service is for only two years. The partisan yoke was not suited to his shoulders.

The monotony of this protracted service in the employ of one bank was broken by the panics and crises to which all of our banks were subject during this period, and in addition there was an upheaval in the particular bank of which he was then cashier which resulted in a fugitive president, while the trusted cashier of the institution remained in charge, with increased reputation for manliness and rectitude.

He achieved success in the preparation of several papers submitted by him to the Antiquarian Society, and published several monographs on local subjects, mainly historical in character. His paper on the early currency of Massachusetts came at an opportune time, and contributed distinctly to his reputation. The subject had already been dealt with by Felt, and I myself have elsewhere expressed myself in print concerning this paper as follows: Mr. Paine in this report has success-

fully reduced to a coherent and intelligible narrative the main facts set forth incoherently by Felt.

Constant, faithful, reliable, always performing his duty, never seeking for service beyond his power of performance, he availed himself of opportunity and limited his efforts to capacity. When the day of reckoning shall come and those to whom talents have been given shall be called upon to account for their use, we may feel sure that he will be dismissed with the welcome announcement, "Well done thou good and faithful servant."

Col. Thomas L. Livermore read a paper on "McClellan, April–December, 1861."

Mr. Ford read extracts from the ms. Diary of Benjamin Moran, secretary of the American Legation in London, on

The Harvard-Oxford Boat Race of 1869.

August 20, 1869. Mr. Wm. Blaikie, Sec. of the Harvard Boat Club, wrote to General Badeau on the 13th inst., and the General sent the letter to me from the country, that he wanted to "be put at once on the track of a good, capable, *trustworthy* American, man or woman, who could be substituted for their chambermaid for two weeks," to wash dishes, etc., in order to prevent all danger of interference with the food of the crew. I tried but failed to get a person. Mr. Blaikie, however, writes me that he has succeeded.

That a necessity for such a change exists is a nice commentary on British honesty and British fair play. From Mr. Blaikie's remarks it is quite clear that he has reason to think that some scoundrels contemplate drugging the crew before the race so as to insure their defeat.

August 24. This afternoon at half past four Mr. Gilead A. Smith drove me out to Putney in a fine open phaeton, up King's Road, Chelsea, and along the by-lines of Fulham. It was rather sultry, but the rapid motion of the carriage created an air current and made it pleasant.

We found the Harvard crew, a very nice set of young men, at home and were cordially welcomed. Mr. T[homas] H. Dudley [1] and his son were along. We talked most with Mr. Blaikie, although we had some chat with Messrs. Loring [2] and Simmons.[3] None of

[1] U. S. Consul at Liverpool.

[2] Alden Porter Loring (1846 – —).

[3] William Hammatt Simmons (b. 1848), still living. He writes that the

them have much faith in British fair play. Mr. Blaikie fears their boat will be tampered with, and has been careful ever since the crew have been here never to buy their meat and fresh food twice of the same person. I thought this a deserved compliment to British honesty and fair play. They suspect nothing from the Oxford students, but they do from the English betting men who have money risked on the results of the race. They are living in a small villa on the river's bank and seem to lead a jolly life. George W. Smalley,[1] Mr. Shattuck of Boston,[2] Dr. Greenough and several other gentlemen were present. Mr. Loring struck me as a pleasant and rather reticent young man, with a strong dash of Bostonism, and not much knowledge of the world, or of the usages of polite life — and yet a gentleman.

At six, in a calm afternoon, we walked along the river bank to Hammersmith bridge — the Harvard men going up in advance of us in a small steam tug — to see our crew row back. They came down in about half an hour at a splendid rate, pulling like one man, and lifting their oars with mechanical precision. The performance was very grand and called forth much applause from the spectators, some saying such skill must win. The Oxford crew came next, pulling with great unanimity, but not apparently better or faster than the Americans, although a handsomer set of young men. They rowed back to their house very quietly but beautifully, and the test of the day was over. I feel tolerably certain that the Harvard crew will not lose by any great distance, if at all. . . .

The Harvard men invited Mr. Motley,[3] but not me, to go in the umpire's boat to see the race.

August 26. Mr. Motley has asked me to go to the race in his stead, and I shall endeavor to do so. When I was down to see the Harvard crew the other day they said nothing about it — from ignorance I suppose — but I was annoyed at their conduct notwithstanding. That Mr. Stanton Blake[4] had something to do with it. . . . This afternoon I drove Mr. H. T. Parker and his two daughters to Putney where we saw the Harvard crew. I presented the pins to Mrs. Loring in Captain and Mrs. Schenley's name, and they were well received. There was a great crowd on the river bank in the evening, when the American boat went out. Our people rowed well,

Harvard crew was beaten fairly, because it was outrowed. "The Oxford crew was much better, better individually and collectively."

[1] Correspondent of the *New York Tribune*.

[2] George Otis Shattuck (1829–1897). A memoir by Rev. Edward H. Hall is in *Col. Soc. Mass. Publications*, VIII. 7.

[3] U. S. Minister.

[4] (1837–1889).

and I am confident they will win if fairly treated. The excitement is high.

August 27. At 2 P. M. today my carriage reached the Legation and after decking out the horses and men with magenta ribbons, the colors of Harvard University, I sent it to the Westminster Palace Hotel to take up the Hon. S. S. Cox, wife and female companion. They arrived at the Legation at half past two, when we started by King's Road, Chelsea, for Putney, to witness the boat race between the Oxford and Harvard crews. We arrived at the Harvard head quarters at about three, and were very cordially received by Mr. Blaikie — the other men being quiet and anxious not to be disturbed. Mr. Blaikie kindly gave Mrs. Cox and her companion seats on a platform in the garden overlooking the river, and I by management secured a place for Mr. Cox on the press boat.

At about 4.30 Mr. T. H. Dudley, his son and I went on board the umpire's boat, then lying a little above Putney Bridge. Many persons were already on the boat, and at 5 we moved off towards the starting point. The day was warm and truly magnificent. Both banks of the river were lined densely with crowds for miles, and much interest was manifested to see the contest. At about 5 P. M. the Oxford crew appeared and were loudly cheered. They were a manly and powerful set of young men. In a short time they were followed by the Harvard crew, who with their bronzed faces and muscular arms bare to the shoulders, with white bands round their heads, looked like sturdy North American Indians. The respective coxswains wore caps of blue and magenta. As the boats lay on the full stream awaiting the arrangement for the start, their crews appeared like the athletes of old, and looked as if conscious of the responsibility resting upon them. The river was clear throughout, except at the starting point, and the only two steamers there were the umpire's and the press boat. It was an intensely anxious moment. Mr. Wm. Blaikie started the crews. Oxford twice replied *No* in a loud voice when asked if they were ready; but at the third hail all was right and away went the boats like lightning, Harvard leading amid the tumultuous roar created by the shouts of at least two hundred thousand people. Our steamer followed and after her came the press boat. We were quick in the wake of the rowers, and the Harvard men on board cheered their fellows with loud short crisp cries, much like Indian shouts of encouragement. I watched with breathless interest and became much excited as our boat gained on Oxford and still led after a race of more than two miles. Shouts from the shore followed us, and the English on land and water began to be anxious about the result. At Hammersmith Bridge the Harvard coxswain steered wild and lost his advantage; and soon after

Oxford took the lead. Our men were showing signs of fatigue; but they bravely battled on and came in not two lengths behind their opponents. It was unpleasant, but still they made a glorious race and pushed Oxford harder than they had ever been pushed before. A million of people must have witnessed the struggle, and the roar of their cheers burst over the crews as they raced along a line of more than four miles, the shouts crashing out as the boats came upon group after group and dying in the distance as they sped on to their goal. Harvard led for two miles and a half, and was only beaten in consequence of the illness of Mr. Loring — the captain — who had a boil on his neck the size of a pigeon's egg, and the bad steering for a time of the coxswain. Still it was a glorious race and ours was a negative, if not a positive, success.

Instantly after the race ended the river was black with boats, large and small, and where they came from no one could tell. These so crowded the Harvard crew that they had to leave their boat and take refuge in ours; in which we took them down to Putney. The whole scene as we came along was wonderful for nearly the whole length of both river banks for four miles was one mass of people; and the river's surface was dancing with boats of all conceivable descriptions.

We drove home in the cool of the evening, many of the crowd on the way chaffing our magenta colors; but take it all in all the English people behaved very well on the occasion and certainly practised fair play.

August 28. The newspapers today speak well of the Harvard crew and give them much praise for their doing yesterday. Take it all in all, the English people have behaved very well in the matter and frankly praise the Harvard crew for their pluck and endurance.

August 30. We drove at about three P. M. in a cab to Putney to see the Harvard crew and had some talk with Messrs. Loring, Fay,[1] Lyman,[2] Burnham,[3] Blaikie and Elliott. The race was lost in consequence of Mr. Loring's illness and bad steering. But the steering is explainable. Some time ago, Mr. Loring in talking with Mr. Tinné of the Oxford crew about the race, said he objected to "taking the water" on his rival, as it was not gentlemanly, and Mr. Tinné acquiesced in the sentiment. No understanding, however, in words was made that the thing should not be done; but Mr. Loring considered the matter agreed to, and consequently when Mr. Burnham, the Harvard coxswain, asked in the race if he should take the water

[1] Joseph Fay.
[2] Francis Ogden Lyman (b. 1846), still living.
[3] Arthur Burnham (b. 1847), still living.

on Oxford — and he could have done it at the time — Mr. Loring in a spirit of chivalry said *No*. The Oxford men, however, were not so nice and cut our men off at the first chance, laughing at the trick as they passed ahead. And after all, according to the official announcement in today's *Times*, Oxford won only by a length and a half.

Mr. TUTTLE submitted a note on

HUTCHESON'S "BRIEF EXPOSITION," 1655.

The Society has recently obtained a copy in its original binding of *A Brief Exposition on the XII. Smal Prophets* . . . By George Hutcheson, Minister at Edenburgh . . . London, Printed for Ralph Smith, at the Bible in Corne-hill. 1655.

This volume, of nearly twelve hundred pages, in three parts, is interesting from its associations. Its first owner was Rev. John Brock (1620–1688; H. C. 1646) of Dedham, where he settled with his parents in August, 1638, then of the Isles of Shoals, and later of Reading, whose signature is written at the top of the titlepage. After Mr. Brock's death it passed into the hands of Benjamin Wadsworth (1669–1737; H. C. 1690), later minister of the First Church in Boston, and President of Harvard College, who wrote his name at the end of the book. The next owner was Rev. Eliphalet Adams (1677–1753; H. C. 1694) of Dedham, and of New London, Connecticut, who wrote at the top of the first fly-leaf "Eliphalet Adams His Book. Anno 1698." Below this entry there is a name crossed out and illegible, and near it the words "Inv^{y} price 20/" with the figures changed to "10." Then on the titlepage is the name of "Alfred Mitchell" stamped twice.

This stamp brings to mind a valuable volume of tracts (1646–1686), given to Harvard College Library by Mr. Alfred Mitchell, of New London, Connecticut, on August 17, 1908, originally owned by Rev. William Adams, second Minister of the Church at Dedham from 1673 to his death in 1685, and then by his son Eliphalet, above-mentioned.[1] This book contains the entries "Eliph Adams bk, 170 1–2 Bind. cost 3^{s} Inventory price 15/." Mr. Mitchell, at the time of the gift, wrote an account of its descent to him, from the pur-

[1] *Harvard University Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1908, p. 4.

chase of Mr. Adams' library by one of his parishioners, Nathaniel Shaw, when it undoubtedly contained both books here described. The line of ownership runs through a granddaughter Polly Shaw, her husband Rev. Ephraim Woodbridge, minister of New London, and his granddaughter, who married Rev. Alfred Mitchell. At Mrs. Mitchell's death in 1838 the library was divided among her children, and these two books fell in the part received by her son Alfred Mitchell, their last owner before they were finally parted.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated a journal, kept in 1820 by Jeremiah Fitch, of a visit to Saratoga Springs, New York. A sketch of the writer, prepared by Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, is in Brown, *History of Bedford*, Part II. 11. The original of the journal is owned by Mr. Charles William Jenks, of Bedford, a grandson of the writer.

AN ACCOUNT AND MEMORANDUM OF MY JOURNEY TO SARATOGA SPRINGS. 1820

22 July, *Sat.* This day I left Boston about 7 o'Clock A. M. took with me Mrs. Fitch,[1] Caroline M.[2] and J. G. Fitch.[3] started in Carriage drove by Jonas Kilburn, our refreshments put into the carriage box to start with were, 1½ doz. lemons 1 do oranges of the first quality, one bottle real old Cognac Brandy, 2 bottles Howard and Gordon shrub 2 years old, thirty seven segars. proceded on our route over old Cambridge bridge through old Cambridge, Brighton, Newton to Needham, and there stopp'd, 12½ miles from Boston, Tavern kept by [*blank*] Silsbey. from Needham went to Framingham and there din'd, and had an excellent dinner [at] James Hamiltons Tavern.[4] stopp'd at Southborough at Winchesters Tavern, 26½ miles from Boston. next town was Westborough 33½ Miles from Boston tavern kept by Mr. Wesson,[5] here we stop'd. went on to

[1] Mary Rand, of Chelmsford and Boston (1776–1840).

[2] Caroline Matilda Fitch, born September 1, 1808, and died unmarried September 4, 1893.

[3] Jeremiah George Fitch (1810–1845).

[4] James Hamilton (1782 – —), of Brookfield. He went to Framingham in 1818 and kept the hotel at the Center, but removed to Boston in 1823, and later to New York City. Temple, *History of Framingham*, 574.

[5] Silas Wesson. The tavern was at the corner of the turnpike and what is now Lyman Street. It later became the schoolhouse. In December, 1820, Wesson became postmaster and removed the office to his tavern.

Shrewsbury, stopp'd at Havens tavern[1] 40 M from B[oston]. from there we went to Worcester and put up for the night at Mr Sikes's,[2] had a good supper, and good lodging, left there in the morning half past 6 o'Clock, a very fine pleasant morning, a beautiful ride, especially after being kept awake about half the night at Sikes's, by the quack, quack, quack, of the ducks under the window.

23 July, *Sunday.* We arriv'd at Leicester at about 8 o Clock in the morning stopp'd at Morse's tavern[3] had breakfast cost $1. 12–46 Miles from B[oston]. went through Spencer, north Brookfield stopp'd at Stevens tavern, just as we arrived here, we saw people commencing work, (although it was sunday) at Cradling Oats; went on to Brookfield stopped at tavern kept by Jesse McCurdy, took some refreshment. the next stop was at Mr. Lumbards in Western,[4] 70 M f[rom] B[oston] and there we din'd, after dinner I went with George and view'd the inside of the Meeting house: most of the people rode home from meeting in one horse wagons, which were very numerious. After dinner we went through part of Ware, this afternoon we went over a high winding mounting 2 miles in the rise, all the way up was through wood, when we got on the top there we saw an elegant spring of Water. stopp'd our horses took from our box a bottle [of] shrub, and made some excellent punch, broke our tumbler, not till we had done drinking, then moved on to Belcher Town. stopp'd for the night at Clapps tavern, arriv'd there at 8 o Clock in the evening, it being too late for real pleasure, still it was a very pleasant moon shining evening: had good lodgings, took breakfast consisting of broil Chicken, etc. last night at this tavern Jonas Kilburns horse got loose, and went to the water and drank too much.

24 July, *Mon.* This morning Monday 24th at 7 o Clock we left Belchertown continued on our Journey through Amherst, North Hadley, pass'd by the large field bounding on Connecticut river said to be 2 miles in length, and one mile in width, pass'd over Northampton bridge to Northampton, stopp'd at Lymans tavern. there met Mr. Saml. Fales, wife, two daughters, and his little son; Mr. Fales started one hour before us and agreed to speak for a dinner for the whole of us; we started from the Village in N H and went

[1] The town hall occupies the site of the Haven tavern. *History of Worcester County*, II. 277.

[2] Reuben Sikes (1755–1824), of Somers, Conn., removed to Worcester in 1807, and was long proprietor of the tavern, which later was known as the Exchange Coffee House. Lincoln and Hersey, *History of Worcester*, 425.

[3] Aaron Morse. The history of the tavern is given in Washburn, *History of Leicester*, 67.

[4] Now Warren.

about 6 Miles, and stop'd at Mr. Edwards tavern still in Northampton: from thence we went to Chesterfield,[1] stoppd and din'd at Clapps tavern, in company with Mr. Fales and his family. this is a pleasant Town. we left here in company with Mr. F. about 4 o Clock P M. and went to Worthington, put up for the night at Pierce's tavern, took breakfast, and there Kilburn bled his Horse, started in the morning of Tuesday 25 July about 7 o Clock. (this monday evening Mr. Fales went with me, took a long walk about in the Town, rather a pleasant place than otherwise, our conversation was about our younger days)

25 July, *Tuesday*. The next stop was at Peru, J Scovels tavern, this place we were inform'd by the landlord, was the highest land between Boston and Albany. went through Hinsdale, there stop'd a few minutes at [*blank*] tavern. went through Dalton, a beautiful Town to Pittsfield, and there we din'd in company with Mr. F. this is a remarkable pleasant town, there are a number of soldiers quarter'd there. Mr Colburn kept the tavern, our next stop was on the Mountain in Hancock at Broads tavern. just as we arriv'd there, it began to lighten and thunder hard, and the rain pour'd down about one hour in torrents. Mr. F was a little behind, did not reach the tavern until poor Bob his servant was as wet as a droun'd rat, while we were there the thunder struck near us. our next stop was at New Lebanon springs, before we reach'd there after leaving Mr. Broads, we went down the mountain which was very steep, and lengthy. at N. Lebanon we all took a bath, which was quite refreshing, Mr Hull kept the Hotel, had good lodging, and breakfast, left there in the morning of Wedneday 26 July about half past 7 o Clock, remarkable pleasant ride for 10 or 12 Miles. saw a large number of variagated Hogs, bl[ac]k red and white,

26 July, *Wedn.* next stop was at Nassau tavern kept by [*blank*] Frink, proceeded on to Schoodick and there we halted half an hour being very hot. Mr. [*blank*] kept the tavern, we pass'd by an elegant and splendid row of Soldiers barracks in Greenbush. then cross'd over the Hudson river, in a large boat so call'd, said to cost $8000 dollars, its movement is occasioned by the power of 6 Horses:[2]

[1] The Worthington turnpike, as it was called after 1814, was the First Massachusetts turnpike, chartered in 1796. The route extended from the west line of Northampton, through Westhampton, Williamsburg, Chesterfield, Worthington, Peru, Hinsdale and Dalton, connecting with Unkamet Street, Pittsfield, and thence through Hancock, to the New York border. This was the route taken in the journal. Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, 1800–1876, 508.

[2] In 1805 the city of Albany established a ferry on the Greenbush side of the river and licensed James Wynkoop as ferry-keeper. "He was furnished with good scows and boats, and would employ as ferry men none but those who were sober and obliging." Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, IV. 334.

we arriv'd at Albany at 3 o Clock P M. put up at Moodys tavern, took a walk round about in the town: in the course of the afternoon, call'd on Nahum Rice; visited the Museum in the evening with Mrs. F. C M and J G F. was much pleas'd with the Town of Albany especially state street, the market was poor and dirty, the lamb look'd as thin as a dead Cat after you skin her, the beef appear'd as though it died a natural death without loss of blood: the streets are generally all pav'd. This Mr. Moodys tavern where we resided was as poor in every respect as the market. left Albany next morning. Thursday 9 o Clock 27 July this day proceeded on our journey, it rain'd all the way to Troy, which was about 7 miles, at Troy we cross'd the Hudson river in a large boat which moves by the power of one horse treading steadily on a horizontal Wheel,[1]

27 July, *Thur.* stopt at Barnards tavern in Troy — an excellent house. we witness'd the destruction of the great fire which happen'd 20 June,[2] the smoke was then ascending from the ruins, being 37 days after the fire. went through Lansingburg quite a pleasant village situated on the bank of the Hudson. We cross'd over the Hudson to Waterford on a cover'd bridge, thence proceeded long side of the river to a place call'd Burrough, in the Town of half moon, and here we din'd at Livingstons tavern, the house was rather old, but the dinner was the best we had since we left Boston: immediately after we left here, we went a western course from the river over hills down valleys and through woods, pass'd many a log hut with only one room, could see through it Children thick as bees, before the doors of hives heads as white as snow, how they liv'd, to me is strange, we stopt at Malta, very handsome common and very pleasant vilage. we arriv'd at about sun set at Mr. Aldrichs Hotel in Ballstown, there we put up for the night, in the evening we all drank freely of the spring water. this place is quite a village as thick settled as Medford in Mass, here we met with Dea. Phillips wife and daughter of Boston,[3] and F. W. Geyer of Walpole N. H.[4]

28 July, *Fri.* the next day at about noon we left for Saratoga and arriv'd their at half past 1 o Clock P M and put up at Congress Hall, kept by G V Schoonhoven. took private lodgings at Mr. Clements about 10 rods from the Hall. this Hall is 200 feet in length by about 30 in width, 3 stories high, 3 halls comprises the whole lower

[1] This horse-ferry was established in May, 1869. An account of it, taken from Silliman, is in Weise, *History of Troy*, 116.

[2] *Ib.*, 117.

[3] William Phillips. See p. 195, *infra*.

[4] The elder Geyer had, in 1800, removed to the house of his son-in-law, Nathaniel Tucker, and died in 1803. His son, of the same name, had married in 1793, Rebecca Frazier. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXV. 48; XXVII. 245.

floor, one is for breakfast, dinner and supper, the middle hall is for Gentlemen and Ladies to walk and sit in, being elegantly furnish'd. the eastern hall is for balls, and other amusements. in front of the building is a piazza the whole length and height, 18 feet wide and another back of the building as high but not quite as wide. the former is for Gentlemen and Ladies to walk in, in the evening the latter is for Gentl to lounge and smoke and tell stories in: This place is a delightful village. there is four or five large Hotels besides a number of boarding Houses and taverns, the Pavillion is the next in respectability to the Congress Hall. while we were at the latter, there was 211 boarders besides from 40 to 50 servants the former at 10 the latter at 5 dollars per week; drank freely of the waters which operated powerfully on Mrs. F. and Caroline; not quite so much on George or myself.

29 July, *Sat.* spent this day very agreeably in company with about 50 Bostonians, for a description of which, see the end of this Book. last evening was a ball at Congress Hall, there is generally one 5 nights in 7 during July and August

30 July, *Sun.* This day went to meeting heard Rev Mr. Mathews from New York, the visitors at the springs generally attended: hold a fowl over the spring 20 seconds and it will kill it. hold it over 15 seconds and it will appear to die and will after come to life, the experiment I saw. while at Saratoga I drank the waters from 4 different springs.

31 July, *Mon.* This day we left Saratoga about 7 o Clock A M. for Boston by way of Vermont, took breakfast at Wilton N Y. at Mr. Emersons tavern, an excellent breakfast it was: went through part of Northumberland; stopt at Griswold in Moreau, had some bad spruce beer, and bad water. Stopped at Queensbury Mr. Ferris tavern and there visited and examin'd Glens Falls a curiosity indeed, we went through two arches or caves 30 to 50 feet through a solid rock, this passage was made by the water running through it, and at these falls, we saw a curious saw mill, went 6 miles and stopp'd again at Queensbury at Bordwells tavern, continued on to Granville, Mr. Town's tavern, there staid all night, slept on the lower floor in 2 recesses; had a good lodging, and good supper, this is rather a gloomy Town.

1 Aug. *Tues.* left Granville about half past 6 o Clock A M, stopp'd and breakfasted at Poultney Vt. Beamans tavern, handsome, Lawyers House opposite, 170 m from Boston. stopt at Castleton Vt. which has an Academy and is a delightful place; Mrs. F. and Caroline went a shoping, went on to Rutland, there din'd at Goulds tavern 150 m from B[oston]. had a poor dinner the lamb was too hard even for good teeth; went to Shrewsbury and there

put up for the night. I ought to have nam'd that after we left Rutland, we stopt at Clarendon and there we had good Cherry rum and good cold water, being the first we had cold, unless made so by ice. We had good lodging at Shrewsbury, and an excellent breakfast; tavern kept by Tinney. It rain'd the greater part of this afternoon.

2 Aug. *Wedn.* in the morning of the 2d Aug Wedn we started about half past 6 o Clock 133 M. f[rom] B[oston]. continued on to Cavendish Proctors tavern 120 M. f[rom] B[oston]. stopt and din'd in Weathersfield at G Potswine, very bad dinner. Mrs. F. had no appetite, nor no one else. here George was terribly frightened by a dog. stopt again in Weathersfield Village on Connecticut river at Fifield Tavern. Went up from there to Windsor put up for the night at F and J Pettys tavern, was a ball there that night, went to Mrs Townsends in the evening: had good lodging and a superb breakfast, left in the morning about 8 o Clock A M 3 Aug Thursday. proceeded down on the border of Connecticut river, a most delightful ride, none could be more so, excellent land all the way.

3 Aug. *Thur.* Stopt at Jarvis village in Weathersfield took some strong beer continued down the river through Springfield cross'd over the Connecticut river to Charlestown No 4, stopt at Hassom tavern, this is a pleasant village, here Caroline and George bought Mary 1 pr tumblers, went on to Walpole corner so call'd and there din'd. had a very good dinner hir'd a boy to go to the village post office 4 miles, for letters, cost 3/9, T. C. Drew kept this tavern 96 M f[rom] B[oston]. went from there to [*blank*] Holbrooks tavern here J. Kilburn discover'd that he had lost 2 seals and a key to his watch, he went with Caroline and George about half a mile to find them without success, from this we went through Gilsum, to appearance it must have been the last Town made and the last town settled in New hampshire, it was in the evening we travelled here, by many inquiries, we at last arriv'd at Mr Muzzy, very cold evening, staid there all night, went to bed at 12 o Clock, in the morning we went over his farm.

4 Aug. *Fri.* Started from Mr Muzzeys this forenoon about 11 o Clock, went down the steep and lengthy hills to Keene being 6 miles and 80 M f[rom] B[oston]. after leaving Keene about 12 o Clock at noon we went about 7 miles and as the appearance of a great shower was in full view, we hasten'd on till we came to a small house and Barn, opened the barn doors, drove in as quick as possible, just as we got into the house, and the Carriage in the barn, the rain came on in torrents, accompanied with *great* lightening, and terrible peals of thunder, there was an abundant quantity of hail some of which were of the size of a large bullet. the place where we were was Marlborough. the shower lasted from half past 2 o Clock to half past

3 P. M. we then went to Jaffrey, and din'd at Mr Sweetsers tavern, from there we went to New Ipswich, put up for the night at Adams tavern, good lodging and breakfast. left there in the morning of 5 Aug Sat about 6 o Clock Continued on through Townsend part of Mason Pepperril to Groton and there stopt at [*blank*] tavern. from there we went to Westford, Reads tavern dinner poor enough. Caroline and George view'd Hildriths pictures, went to Samuel Stones in Westford, Thompsons place, it then began to rain violently, after the shower was partly over we left and went on to Bedford where we arriv'd at about sun set, staid there all night and until Sunday afternoon.

6 Aug. *Sun.* at about 5 o'Clock we left Bedford, and arriv'd in Boston before day light was gone, and there found all well.

The whole am't of expenses of this journey of 16 days was $186.

A list of Persons at Saratoga on 28th–29th–30th and 31st July 1820.

Dea Wm Phillips, wife and daughter [1] . . No of persons	3
Joseph Coolidge [2]	1
Saml. Hammond, wife, 2 daughters [3]	4
Heman Lincoln and wife [4]	2
Jno Ballard, wife and son [5]	3
Danl Baxter, Walter Welch and Wm. H Dwight [6]	3
John Parkman and wife and son	3
Isaac McClellan and wife, Jno Parker and wife [7]	4
Wm Boardman and wife,[8] Miss Abthorp	3

[1] William Phillips (1750–1827), a deacon of the Old South Church for thirty-three years. His wife was Miriam Mason, a daughter of Jonathan Mason and sister of Senator Jonathan Mason. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXXIX. 109.

[2] Probably Joseph Coolidge (1747–1820), now a widower, who died October 6, 1820. His only child was Joseph Coolidge (1773–1840). He further is described in the *Boston Directory* as a merchant, residing on Middlecot Street.

[3] He was a merchant, and married Sarah Dawes. He resided on Somerset Place.

[4] Of the firm of [Ward] Jackson and Lincoln, having a wood and lumber wharf on Cambridge Street. He resided on Green Street. He married, in 1802, Sally Cushing of Ashburnham.

[5] The *Directory* has him as a junior, living on Orange Street.

[6] Daniel Baxter, of Baxter and Prescott, lived on Harvard Street; William H. Dwight was associated with John W. Dwight, merchants at 52 Broad Street; Walter Welsh kept a provision store, back of 28 Merchants Row.

[7] Isaac McClellan, son-in-law of General William Hull, resided on Winthrop Place. He came from Portland to Boston about this time. John Parker was a merchant at 20 Long Wharf with a residence on Beacon Street. His wife was Elizabeth Phillips?

[8] William Boardman was a merchant on Hancock Street.

John Parker Jun, and wife Mary Bordman, and Miss Shimmins [1] 4
Jer. Fitch, wife, daughter and son [2] 4
N. P. Russell, wife son and 2 Miss Tidds [3] 5
Henry Cutter and wife [4] 2
Walter Welch, Sam'l C. Gray [5] 2
Richard Derby, wife, and his wife's sister Mrs Sumner [6] . 3
Jacob Tidd, Jun.[7] 1

Persons 47

Mr. NORCROSS also contributed from his collection the following letters from Charles Eliot Norton.

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON TO BEADLE & COMPANY.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., 9th April, 1864.

O. J. Victor, Esqre.,[8]
(Beadle & Co.), New York.

DEAR SIR, — I have received this morning your very interesting communication in relation to "Dime" publications, and I beg you to accept my best thanks for it. Will you be kind enough to present my thanks also to Messrs. Beadle & Co. for their note of 28th ult., and for the valuable parcel of "Dime" books that they were good enough to send me a few days since?

Your paper on the subject of these publications contains just the

[1] John Parker, Jr., lived on Common Street. His wife was Anna Sargent. Mary Boardman lived at 141 Broad Street, and a William Shimmin (1777–1856) on Common Street, with a place of business at 20 State Street. He married a daughter of John Parker.

[2] Jeremiah Fitch (1778–1840), the writer of this journal, dealt in English goods at 6 Market Street, with a residence at 2 Portland Street.

[3] Nathaniel Pope Russell, insurance office on State Street and a house on Walnut Street. He married Hannah Dawes Hammond, a daughter of Samuel Hammond. Miss Tidd was probably a daughter of Jacob Tidd, a distiller.

[4] Henry Cutter dealt in English goods at 84 State Street, with a residence on Marlborough Row.

[5] Samuel Calley Gray (1793–1849), a merchant, was associated with William Ray, at 31 Central Wharf.

[6] Captain Richard Derby lived at 5 Chauncey Place.

[7] Jacob Tidd, Jr., also a distiller, at Distill-house Square, with a house on Temple Street. The elder Tidd lived on Sudbury Street. Ruth Tidd, widow of Jacob Tidd, died January, 1861, aged 94. She was a daughter of William and Hannah Dawes.

[8] Orville James Victor (1827–1910). See Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors*, III. 2523.

information that I desired to receive, and a large part of it will be embodied in the article which is to be prepared for the July number of the *North American Review*. I will retain the manuscript, and return it to you should any portion of it not be printed.

There are one or two points on which I should be glad of some further information if you are willing to take the trouble to give it to me. I should like to know the titles of two or three of the novels which have been most popular, in order to give special attention to them, and to analyze, if possible, with some particularity the causes of their success. And I should like also to know, if there be no reason for keeping the facts private, the extent of the sale of these books that have had the widest circulation. Has any single work reached a circulation of 50,000 copies or more?

Your statement of the success that has attended this enterprise is a very striking one; and it is exceedingly gratifying to learn that the design and objects of Messrs. Beadle & Co. are so wide and so praiseworthy. The vast circulation of their publications imposes upon them a heavy responsibility. They have made themselves the instructors of a large portion of the community, and it is of the highest importance that the instruction they afford should be fitted to cultivate the taste, to stimulate the intellectual development, and to improve the moral tone of the people.

I regard Messrs. Beadle & Co's work, as one, if rightly conducted, (and that it will be so conducted I have no doubt,) of national importance. Our people are becoming more and more democratic, and the principles of true democracy are becoming better understood among us, and more rightly esteemed than heretofore. But in order that they may produce their best results in character and institutions, the intellectual and moral culture of the people must keep pace with the material progress of the nation, and with the social changes that are taking place within it. To bring good reading within the means of the whole people is one of the securest methods of attaining this end, and Messrs. Beadle & Co. are doing their part to effect it.

Will you allow me to make a suggestion of an experiment which if successful might lead to a still further, and very desirable developement of Messrs. Beadle & Co's enterprise? Is it not possible that a good selection from standard works of English literature might be made, which should possess interest enough to gain a profitable circulation? For instance, might not the experiment of a "dime" edition of Shakespeare's plays be made; one or two of the plays being published in each number of the issue? Some years since Messrs. Tauchnitz & Co., of Leipsic, published an edition of the plays separately, for a franc each, for the use of the English residing on the continent of Europe, and for foreign students of the English

language. A dime edition in this country, if neatly and carefully printed, would meet, it seems to me, with a large sale. Besides the general public demand for it, it would make its way into schools as a reading book, and it would be bought by many persons, not usually purchasers of the dime literature, for the sake of its compendious and convenient form. If this idea should strike Messrs. Beadle & Co. favorably, I should be glad to advise further with you as to the text to be selected, and as to the few footnotes that would be needed for the explanation of obsolete words, or remote allusions.

Should the issue of Shakespeare's plays in this form prove a success, it might be followed by other works of interest of the great English authors.

With renewed thanks for your communication, I am, Your Obedient Servant,

Charles Eliot Norton.

Cambridge, Mass., 29th June, 1864.

Dear Sir, — As only partial use has been made of the enclosed paper by the author of the notice of the Dime Publications in the forthcoming number of the *North American Review*, I return these sheets to you according to your desire.

With renewed thanks for your courtesy in furnishing me with information, I remain, Truly Yours,

Charles Eliot Norton.

Ashfield, Mass., 5th July, 1864.

Gentlemen, — Your note of the 1st inst. has been forwarded to me from Cambridge to this place where I am passing a few days.

I regret the tone in which you have chosen to address me concerning the notice of your publications which appears in the *North American* for this month, — and I cannot but think that, upon reflection, you yourselves will regret it as unsuitable.

In saying "we are charitable enough to suppose you are not responsible for the notice" you misapprehend my position as editor of the Review. I am responsible for whatever appears in its pages.

It is quite true that had I found time, as I hoped to do, to write the notice of your publications I should have written in a more sympathetic spirit with your design, but there is nothing in the criticism which is inserted in the Review that seems to me to justify your terms concerning it. If it were malevolent or unfounded, if it were a sweeping condemnation, you might have ground for protesting against it. But as it confines itself to fair literary criticism, and condemns only what deserves condemnation, I cannot admit the justice of your complaint.

Regarding your enterprise as I do, with sincere interest, and as of real importance, I should have been pleased had your books, upon examination, proved to possess more real worth. The *North American* will never, I trust, lend itself to puff books of no or of little merit.

If you would receive the Notice as a not unfriendly criticism, intended to point out in what your publications fall short of the aim which you ought to propose to yourselves, and which, indeed, you profess to desire to attain, — and indicating the way of improvement, it would be received as it was intended. I regret that you have seen fit to view it so differently. I shall follow the course of your publications with interest, and I shall be glad at some future time to have occasion to speak with justice in unqualified praise of them.

The communications you addressed to me were returned to you some days since. I remain, Your Obedient Servant,

CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. WENDELL, MINOT, WASHBURN, DANA, and THAYER.

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From George Peabody Wetmore, a Corresponding Member, photographs of the portraits of Col. Benjamin Pickman (1740–1819), and of his wife, Mary Toppan Pickman (1744–1817), both by Copley.

From Rev. Charles L. Hutchins, of Concord, Mass., through Mr. Lord, photographs of portraits of Rev. John Tucker (1719–1792), of Newbury, and of Gordon Hutchins (1733–1815).

From Charles Stearns, a photograph of the Prince of Wales, taken at Buckingham Palace July 4, 1860, the day before his departure for America.

From Mr. Norcross, an engraving of Admiral George Dewey, by the John A. Lowell Company, Boston; a "Portfolio of Famous Americans"; and a photograph of the monument at the tomb of Gen. Robert E. Lee, by Valentine, at Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va.

By purchase, a reproduction of Paul Revere's plate of the Obelisk erected in Boston on the repeal of the Stamp Act, 1766.

From Truman H. Bartlett, a photograph of Lincoln, taken about 1856, but of unknown history.

THE VASSALL PORTRAITS.

In presenting to the Society two portraits by Copley, Mr. DANA said:

Colonel Henry Vassall, the subject of one of the portraits, was born in Jamaica, Christmas Day, 1721, and died in Cambridge, March 17, 1769. The subject of the other portrait, Penelope Royall Vassall, the wife of Colonel Henry, was born

at Antigua in September, 1724, was married to Col. Henry Vassall, January 28, 1742, and died in Boston, November 19, 1800. She was the daughter of Isaac Royall, of Medford.

These portraits have descended through Elizabeth, the only surviving child of Col. Henry and Mrs. Penelope Royall Vassall. She married Dr. Charles Russell, and the portraits then passed to her child Rebecca, who married in 1793 David Pearce, of Boston. From thence they descended to his son Charles Russell Pearce. While in the custody of the last named, they were taken to Baltimore, Maryland, about 1825. Through his daughter Elizabeth Vassall Pearce, who married Mr. Prentiss, they were transmitted to his granddaughter Elizabeth Vassall Prentiss, who married Oliver H. McCowen. In 1914 Mrs. McCowen, being about to remove from Baltimore to Burmah, offered them to the Cambridge Historical Society.

The Cambridge Historical Society at that time had no money with which to purchase these pictures, but with the approval of its officers and of Mrs. McCowen I bought them as my own. Since then I have had the intention of presenting them to the Cambridge Historical Society. That Society, however, is only recently organized and is without funds or other property excepting its manuscripts, historical articles, etc., of no considerable commercial value; and there is no assurance that that association will continue to exist indefinitely. There was an earlier historical society at Cambridge which had but a short life.

I decided, therefore, to offer these pictures to the Massachusetts Historical Society in trust for the benefit of the Cambridge Historical Society, and this trust has now been accepted. The chief features of this trust are that as long as the Cambridge Historical Society has a suitable fire-proof place of sufficient dignity and importance in which to hang said portraits the trustees shall loan said portraits to the Cambridge Historical Society, reserving to itself, however, the right to exhibit these portraits in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society for periods not exceeding two months in any one year; and further, that if and when said Cambridge Historical Society shall have an endowment and property of a cash value of at least $100,000 and, further, has a suitable

fire-proof place of sufficient dignity and importance for hanging said portraits, then the Massachusetts Historical Society instead of loaning said portraits to the Cambridge Historical Society shall transfer and deliver them to the latter society in perpetuity.

Harvard College has kindly granted to the Cambridge Historical Society the use of some of the stacks in the Widener Library for its manuscripts, etc., and consented to have these pictures hung in the Treasure Room, where they have been for some months past. As long as this privilege is continued, the pictures will doubtless be kept in the Widener Library when not on exhibition at the Massachusetts Historical Society's rooms.

The canvases of Henry Vassall and Penelope Royall are 25 by 30 and 15 by 17½ inches respectively. When received they proved to be in excellent condition, needing only varnishing and a little retouching of the backgrounds. That of Colonel Vassall represents a man in the prime of life, half-length, full face, slightly smiling, chin dimpled. He wears a powdered wig, ruffled lace neck-cloth, brown embroidered satin coat. The coloring is brilliant and the face full of character. The bust portrait of his wife is that of a young, sweet, refined woman, face oval, eyes large, features regular, brown hair dressed high with a rose on the left side. Her citron-colored dress is low cut. Neither in size, coloring, nor expression is this picture as striking as the other, and one cannot but feel that the subject did not appeal to the painter as strongly.

Family tradition assigns both portraits to the brush of Copley. Mr. Frank W. Bayley, the leading authority on the subject, announces after careful inspection that tradition is here undoubtedly correct, and proposes to include both pictures in his catalogue of the works of that master. The style and handling are precisely those of Copley at the period when these canvases must have been executed; there is, moreover, documentary evidence that he painted several others of the Royall family and their connections.[1]

Both the frames are old — possibly the originals (many of Copley's frames were made by Paul Revere) — and have merely been regilded. Copies of both portraits were made some years ago for Mr. James Russell Soley, of New York City. An indifferent painting of Miss Elizabeth, aged about sixteen, is now in possession of Mrs. H. L. Threadcraft, of Richmond, Virginia. Portraits of other mem-

[1] *Mass. Historical Collections*, LXXI. 284.

bers of the Vassall family by Hoppner and Reynolds are in Holland House, London.[1]

Mrs. Oliver McCowen also lent the Cambridge Society in 1914 a little expense book account kept by Col. Henry Vassall during the years 1755–1759. It is 4½ by 7 inches, bound in limp marbled-paper covers. "Henry Vassall 1753" is written large on the flyleaf, but the first entries are of a journey in 1755. This furnishes many interesting facts regarding Col. Henry Vassall's mode of life and expenditures during this period.

Mr. Samuel F. Batchelder, Secretary of the Cambridge Historical Society, prepared an able paper of some eighty printed pages, giving a full account of Col. Henry Vassall and his wife, their surroundings and relatives, their child and slaves. This is found in the proceedings of the twenty-third meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society, held on the 26th of January, 1915. In this Mr. Batchelder has collected a great deal of information from various sources, registers of deeds and probate, the account book and from what little there remains in the records of the various historical societies regarding those Tories who lived on what is now called Brattle Street, then the road to Watertown and commonly designated as Tory Row — those persons who gave such picturesqueness to the life of Cambridge before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War.

Col. Henry Vassall lived in the house which is now on the southeast corner of Brattle and Hawthorn streets and diagonally opposite the house built in 1759 by his nephew John Vassall, afterwards the headquarters of General Washington during the early days of the Revolutionary War, subsequently owned by Andrew Craigie and later by Henry W. Longfellow.

I think we ought to consider ourselves fortunate to be able to see the portraits of two of that interesting Vassall family of whom there are now in America so few traces and so little information.

The Society voted to accept the gift on the terms stated; and on motion of Mr. WENDELL the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. DANA for his interesting and valuable gift.

[1] Quoted from Mr. Batchelder's paper, referred to below.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Frederick L. Gay, some pieces of particular interest. First in importance is a MS. volume of notes of sermons, taken in England by Robert Keayne before he came to the Massachusetts Bay, and in all probability one of the volumes left by his will to the proposed public library in Boston, if desired.[1] The volume summarizes sermons heard by him between June, 1627, and August, 1628. On the flyleaf in front is written by Keayne: "Robert Keayne of Boston New Engl. his Booke Ann. 1627. Price 4*s*. There is many a pretious old Eng. Sermon in it." The name of the preacher, and the place and date of the meeting are given in each instance. The little volume, however, tells much more than a mere list of the sermons summarized. It gives discourses delivered in England by some of New England's greatest preachers in the early years of the plantation of the Massachusetts Bay — John Cotton, John Wilson, Hugh Peter and John Davenport. It throws new light upon a folio volume of sermons of high esteem in its day entitled "The Saints / Cordials. / As they vvere delivered in svndry Sermons / upon speciall Occasions, in the Citie of / London, and else-where. / Published for the Churches good. / [Cut and three lines from Scripture.] London, / Printed for Robert Davvlman dwelling at the Brazen-Serpent / in Pauls Churchyard." The volume contains twenty-nine sermons, and each sermon or group of sermons has a separate title-page, dated 1629, though the paging of the volume is continuous; but no names of the preachers or of the places of delivery are given. A first edition is in the Boston Public Library (G. 382. 37), and a copy of a second issue is in Mr. Gay's collection in Harvard University Library. On comparing Keayne's notes with the printed volume I am able to identify some of the sermons, and thus determine the preacher and the date and place of delivery. These are noted in the following pages. The sermons summarized by Keayne were:

1627

June 19. By the King's Chaplain at our Artillery Society. Jeremiah, 3. 21.

24. By a stranger at Cornhill. Hebrews, 3. 12.

24, afternoon. By a stranger at Hackne. Mark, 13 last verse.

July 1, forenoon. By Mr. Lewis at Cornhill. Ephesians, 5. 14.

[1] Mr. John H. Edmunds believes this to be the volume described in the catalogue of Increase Mather's books, 1664, as "Keans [?] of London Ministers." Tuttle, "Libraries of the Mathers," in 2 *Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, XX. 282.

July 1, [afternoon.] By Mr. Wager at Cornhill. John, 13. 10.
5. By Mr. Taylor at Cornhill: at our Barkshere Feast John, 13. 35.
8. By a stranger at Cornhill. Romans, 5. 19.
15. By Mr. Damporte[1] at Coleman Street. 1 Peter, 5. 5.
15. By Mr. Malthouse at Cornhill. Philippians, 1. 14.
29, forenoon. By Mr. Peters[2] at Hackne. Romans 4. 12.
29. By Mr. Cooper[3] at Hackne. 2 Timothy, 3. 5.
August 6. By Mr. Malthouse at Hackne. Ezekiel, 18. 30.
9. By Dr. Sibs[4] at Blackfriars. Philippians, 4. 11.[5]
12. By Mr. Wood at Hackne. 2 Chron. 30. 18.
12. By a stranger at Hackne. Job, last chapter, 5, 6.
20. By my brother Wilson[6] at my Father's Burial at Windsor. Genesis, 43. —.
—. By Mr. Baker[7] at the Election of the Lord Maior. 1 Peter 3. 14.
September 30. By a stranger at Cornhill. Micah 7. 7.
By Mr. Charke at Cornhill. 1 Corinthians 9. 24.
By Mr. Wacor in Watlinge Street. Isaiah 3. 14.
October 28. By Mr. Roode at Friday Street. Matthew, 22. 2, 3.
By Mr. Wager one Gunpowder Treson day. Luke, 4. 29, 30.
By a stranger at blackfriars, Gunpowder Treson day. Isaiah, 4. 3.
By Mr. Brinsley[8] at Cornhill. Gunpowder Treason day. 2 Timothy, 4. 17.[9]

[1] John Davenport (1597–1670), vicar of St. Stephens, Coleman Street.

[2] Hugh Peter (1598–1660). Only two days before the preaching of this sermon he "subscribed a submission and protestation addressed to the bishop of London, setting forth his adhesion to the doctrine and discipline of the English government, and his acceptance of episcopal government." Prynne, *First Discovery*, 33. In 1629 he left England and went to Holland.

[3] Thomas Cooper?, who was a preacher to the fleet in 1626.

[4] Richard Sibbes (1577–1635), at that time preacher at Gray's Inn.

[5] *Saints Cordials*, 1. "The Art of Contentment."

[6] John Wilson (1588–1667), second son of Rev. William Wilson, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Mansfield and sister of the wife of Robert Keayne.

[7] Samuel Baker (*d.* 1660), preacher at St. Margaret Pattens in the city of London.

[8] John Brinsley (?) (1600–1665), who in midsummer, 1627, had been dismissed from his ministerial function in Yarmouth church by a decree of chancery obtained by Archbishop Laud.

[9] *Saints Cordials*, 65. "Experience Triumphing: or the Saints Safetie."

November 11. By Mr. Baker at Cornhill. Isaiah, 28. 18.
18. By Mr. Barnard at Grace Church. Jeremiah 3. 40.
December 2. By a stranger at Cornhill. 1 Chronicles, 21. 1.
2, afternoon. By a stranger at Cornhill. Acts, 24. 16.
22. By Mr. Brough [1] at Cornhill. Proverbs, 19. 17.
25. By Mr. Brough on Chrismas Day. Hebrews, 2. 16.

1628

January 6. Lecture. By a stranger at Cornhill. John, 3. 16.
6. By Mr. Brough, before the Sacrament. John, 6. 48.
13. By Mr. Gardner at Cornhill. Psalms, 100. 3.
13. By Mr. Wager at Cornhill. Philippians, 3. 20.
February 2. By Mr. Gardner at Cornhill. 1 Peter, 2. 10.
10. Lecture. By Mr. Gramas. Luke, 12. 32.
10. By Mr. Hide at Coleman Street. Matthew, 21. 12, 13.
10. By Mr. Brough at a christening. Acts, 16. 15.
18. By Dr. Wells at Cornhill. 1 Timothy, 1. 5.
23. By Mr. Jemmett [2] at St. Antlines. Matthew, 3. 10.
29. By Doctor Burgis at Barking Hall. John 17. 23, 24, 25.
29. By Doctor Sibes at Coleman Street. [1 Cor.], 11. 30.[3]
———— —. By Doctor Burgis [4] at Coleman Street. John, 17. 8.[5]
March 16. By Mr. Snapp at Cornhill. Matthew 5. 16.
20. By Mr. Houldbrooke at Eastchepe. Proverbs, 30. 12.
23. By a stranger at Cornhill. Genesis, 6. 3.
31, afternoon. By a stranger at Cornhill. 2 Peter, 1. 10.
April 6. By Mr. Harrye at Cornhill. 1 Kings, 17. 16.
6. By Mr. Fairfaxe at Cornhill. James, 1. 21.
15. By Mr. Wilson at Cornhill. Psalms, 147. 3.
28, forenoon. By a stranger at Cornhill. Mark, 8. 36.
28. By a stranger at Cornhill. Matthew, 13. 43.
May 2. By Mr. Benn [6] at Coleman Street. 1 Corin., 11. 28.
4. By Mr. Edwards [7] at Cornhill. 1 Corin., 11. 27, 28.

[1] William Brough?
[2] William Jemmet (1596?–1678)? A Samuel Jemmet is mentioned later.
[3] *Saints Cordials*, 35. "Ivdgements Reason."
[4] Cornelius Burges, or John Burges.
[5] In the *Saints Cordials*, 89, is a sermon — "The Matchles Love, and In-Being"— from the text John 17. 26. It will be noted that on February 29 Mr. Burgis preached from John 17. 23–25.
[6] William Benn (1600–1680), who was called, in 1629, by John White to Dorchester, where he became preacher of All Saints there.
[7] Thomas Edwards (1599–1647)?

May 4. By Mr. Taylor at Alldermanburys. Matthew, [26]. 26.
—. By Mr. Cotton of Boston, at Newingtone. Isaiah, 26. 20.
11. By Mr. Ward at Newingtone. Job 4. 3.
18. By Doctor Burgis at Powles Cross. Romans, 6. 6.
18. By my brother Wilsone at Broad Street. Isaiah, 5. 4.
25. By a stranger at Cornhill. Acts, 20. 21.
June 1. By Mr. William Middletone[1] at Cornhill. Acts, 2. 3, 4.
6. By Mr. Webb at St. Antlines. Psalm, 19. 12.
8. By Mr. Damporte at Coleman Street. Hebrews, 13. 15.
10. By Mr. Oulsworth at our Artillery feast at St. Mary Acts. Luke, 12. 14.
—. By Doctor Sunnebacke at Windsor Castell. Matthew, 20. 20.
15. By Mr. Martine his Catechisme at Windsor.
15. By Mr. Martine at Windsor. Galatians, 5. 20.
July 6. By Mr. Brough at Cornhill. Sacrament. Matthew, 22. 11, 12.
12. By Doctor Wells at Woolchurch. Psalm, 193. 4.
24. By a stranger at St. Antlines. Matthew, 11. 17.
27. By a stranger at Cornhill. Micah, 3. 1.
27. By Mr. Brough at Cornhill. Matthew, 3. 11.
28. By Mr. Wager at Cornhill. Colossians, 3. 1.
August 3. By Mr. Jackson at Stubbers. Matthew, 2. 19.
3. By Mr. Samuell Jemmet at Stubbers. 1 Corin., 11. 28.[2]
5. By Mr. Archer[3] at St. Antlines. Philippians, 1. 18.
24. By Dr. Taylor at Alderman Burye. Matthew, 27. 25.
24. By Dr. Mosele at Cornhill. Matthew, 12. 36.
31. By a stranger at Cornhill. Psalm, 23. 4.

Also, a copy of Brady and Tate, *A New Version of the Psalms of David*, Boston, M.DCC.LX, with the Appendix and Thomas Johnston's Psalm tunes complete, bound in full Russia stamped in gilt, and silver clasps. It contains the inscriptions, "Samuel Byles. The

[1] Minister of Hardwick, and author of *Papisto-Mastix, or the Protestant's religion defended*, 1606.

[2] This text appears to have been a favorite with the preachers. Keayne notes sermons by Benn (May 2) and Edwards (May 4), and the *Saints Cordials*, 285, has one on verses 28 and 29. "The Right Receiving."

[3] John Archer, preacher at Allhallows, Lombard Street?

Gift of his FATHER [Mather Byles (1735–1814)], June 13th, 1762"; and "Given to Mary Byles in memory of her ascended brother." The two inscriptions are in the writing of Samuel Byles. It also contains in the writing of Mather Byles a mark against each hymn, giving, as it were, its history in connection with his compilation. Thus: "To Hymn XXX collected by Samuel Cooper; to LXXVI, by Andrew Eliot; to C, by [Mather] Byles." Other marks indicate the source of the hymn, whether from Watts' Lyricks or Hymns, altered or unchanged, from Pope, Tate and Brady or Byles. A few of the hymns are corrected in ink. On the inside of the clasps are engraved the letters M. M. and the year 1693.

Also, Capel's *Observationes in Novvum Testamentvm*, Amsterdam, with the same author's *Spicilegio*, cbbclvii, bearing on the titlepage the signature of "Crescentius Matherus," and marks on the border of having been through fire — perhaps that in 1775. Also, Cotton's *Gods Promise to his Plantation*, London, 1630, and a volume containing three tracts by Robert Baylie, minister at Glasgow, on church government.

Also, two volumes of transcripts of "Byles Family Papers, 1728–1835," obtained from various sources; one volume of transcripts of "Letters of Mather Brown, 1777–1831"; and transcripts of the Letter Books of the Byles Sisters, 1793–1828, beginning with No. 3. Letter Book No. 1, 1778–1784, is in the New England Historic Genealogical Society, and No. 2 has been lost.

From General Sylvester Dering, 2nd, of Utica, New York, a volume containing legal and private papers of the Dering family, whose ancestor, Henry Dering (1639–1717), was a freeman of Boston. In addition to commissions, deeds and mercantile papers, there are interesting historical memoranda on the family inventories of estates, and such particularly interesting manuscripts as a poem on Jonathan Belcher (1734), a sermon by E. A.[1] preached at Mr. Welsteed's meeting, Boston, October 7, 1733, a letter of George Whitefield, March 7, 1759, and a newsletter from Newport, July 25, 1749, addressed to "Mr. Fleet," printer of the *Boston Evening Post*. It also contains the printed *Manifesto* issued in 1699 by the undertakers of the Brattle Street Church, Vinal's *Sermon on the Accursed Thing*, printed by James Franklin, at Newport, in 1755 — a presentation copy from the preacher to Thomas Dering—and the assessors' notice issued at Boston, April 13, 1761. This valuable collection has been mounted by General Dering in a suitable volume.

From George U. Crocker about four hundred letters written to Samuel Turell Armstrong, with other documents, touching upon

[1] Probably Eliphalet Adams.

Boston events and institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century, and containing many prominent names in state and national political and social life. Mr. Armstrong (1784–1850), a bookseller of Boston, became mayor of the city, lieutenant-governor and governor of Massachusetts, and was interested in many of the local charitable institutions. He was a member of the prudential commission of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

From Miss Susanna Willard, the plates of *The Willard Memorial; or, Life and Times of Major Simon Willard*, published in 1858 by Joseph Willard.

Dr. Charles Lemuel Nichols, of Worcester, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the appointment by the PRESIDENT of the following committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. J. COLLINS WARREN, RICHARD HENRY DANA and HENRY G. PEARSON.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER and WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. HAROLD MURDOCK and HENRY H. EDES.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, a Resident Member, which occurred at Westfield, New Jersey, February 24, 1917, and called upon Mr. SWIFT who said:

Inasmuch as our late associate, Mr. Sanborn, had a long and eventful career, during which he achieved an astonishing independence, or, as one may say, an isolation of character, rare even in that period of intense individualism in which he played an active though by no means the leading part, it would perhaps be the most gracious tribute which could be paid him, to avoid formal modes of expression usual on such an occasion, and for a moment or two think of him as he was known to the three generations which have grown accustomed to see his tall form moving picturesquely through these streets of Boston — a venerable Figure of the Past — a past full of historic lights and shadows, warm friendships and loyalties, bitter differences and hatreds.

There is no need of biographical detail at this time, further than to say that Mr. Sanborn was New Hampshire born on December 15, 1831, the son of Aaron and Lydia (Leavitt) Sanborn of Hampton Falls, and was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1855. He died in Westfield, New Jersey, on February 24, 1917, after a few weeks' illness, consequent on a fracture of the thigh received while on his way to his son's home, where his death occurred.

Drawn to Concord by his admiration for Emerson, whose acquaintance he had made while a student at Cambridge, Sanborn at once became that formidable institution, a Yankee schoolmaster, if a man descended from six generations living on one spot of New Hampshire soil may fairly be called a Yankee. From 1863 to 1867 he was editor of that excellent paper the *Boston Commonwealth*, and in 1868 began his association with the *Springfield Republican*, which lasted for forty-nine years, almost to the hour of his death in his eighty-sixth year.

I must leave to another hand any notice of Mr. Sanborn's achievements as an author and as a practical philanthropist, especially in the field of prison reform and other charitable endeavor. It is, however, just to his memory to recall that he differed from many of his associates in a radicalism which had no fear and certainly won no favor, in that he actually performed a solid service to mankind by his courageous efforts in humanitarian problems, and did not content himself with merely uttering those *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*, so characteristic of radicals who place more stress on many words and much faith than on fewer words and an abundance of works.

We are all familiar with his association at Concord with names which have given that gracious town such a lasting renown that it is wholly superfluous to mention them. I can see, however, no impropriety in holding, as I do, that Mr. Sanborn cannot fairly be grouped among the *dii majores* of that community of genius. He has in later years been called the Sage of Concord, but I cannot think that he could have liked the appellation, for he surely knew as well as we that Concord never had but one Sage, Emerson, unless indeed in a burst of generous emotion we admit to terms of equality with Emerson his more or less lunar satellite Bronson Alcott.

But Mr. Sanborn, as a younger man, knew these people well and in many writings has commemorated them interestingly and intelligently, but always, we must admit, with an abounding sense of proprietary rights in the premises.

My own liking for Mr. Sanborn, for I did like him, was because he is the only person who ever did me the honor to attack one or two poor things I have written, on the ground that I did not personally know the individuals I sought to portray, especially William Lloyd Garrison and A. Bronson Alcott. It was a claim to a monopoly of the biographical trade, the full meaning of which I but dimly grasp as a member of a society concerned entirely with a past that forbids the possibility of direct personal intimacy. But he assailed me in a very handsome and ruthless fashion and has my gratitude for his keen interest in the matter.

We might as well be direct and honest, as we must in all fairness admit that he meant to be. Frank Sanborn's fame rests on his radicalism and on his newspaper work. His Boston letters to the *Springfield Republican* were to the last marvels of vividness, information and compactness, and they were in good English. But, alas! they had the pathetic fallacy of almost all journalism of this sort. By an extraordinary skill they first created a situation and then described it. Just why politics in Boston are more enlivening when read by the firesides of the Connecticut valley I cannot undertake to say, but such is the case.

A hundred miles away the faithful reader of the great western Massachusetts paper was artfully led by Mr. Sanborn, and by "Warrington" before him, to a consideration of Boston dramatically and tensely occupied with state and municipal affairs. No such happy state of things ever existed nor ever will exist. I was brought up in close association with a member of this Society, now deceased, who had seen much of the great affairs of this world and it was his belief that newspapers are the last to get the news. Whether the news be a melon or a lemon the pulp is all extracted by able men before the press gets the rind. Believing this as I do, such newspaper work as that done by Mr. Sanborn seems to me more or less of an illusion. But that does not mean that it was not faithfully, ably and most skilfully done.

To speak of Mr. Sanborn's radicalism is to tread on a quaking bog. But if we, most of us here, do not love radicalism — and we do not — we can often respect the radical, and I do not see how we can withhold a large measure of respect for one who had in his soul so little fear for our opinions. To be sure, his was the fearlessness which in its exercise depended on military power, the police, the judiciary — all the physical forces that protect free speech and free writing in a democracy. Those of whom he spoke most bitterly were as a rule law-abiding persons, and, fearless as he was, there was really nothing to fear. Still some of us are not so brave even as that. The courage of a man with his back to the wall is not often called upon in so peaceful a domain as the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, nor is the editorial chair in a civilized community so hazardous a position as the trenches. The technique of Mr. Sanborn's artillery fire was superb, but I never could be sure how much damage it did. I recall that my own father was enthusiastically hated by our associate, and undoubtedly was hit hard by some of his accurate shots, but whether he was ever hurt by them I have n't the slightest idea. However, my father was a most good-natured and kindly-tempered man, and always too busy to hate anybody in return.

Mr. Sanborn's radicalism had one great advantage, not always vouchsafed to those who are not of the world's way of thinking. He could hold his own in learning and personal dignity. He was no raw and forbidding upstart, and in his charming simplicity of dress and bearing was a figure long to be remembered. His appearance spoke forcibly of eventful happenings in the past, nor was his influence in recent years obliterated through feebleness or incapacity of any sort.

It would be impossible to question his sincerity or earnestness, but quite possible to doubt whether he may not have often missed the mark. He had, for instance, some rather "nippy" things to say about Henry Thoreau's mother, with whom for a time he boarded while teaching school at Concord. Now my own aunt was the closest friend Thoreau's sister Sophia ever had. That incomparable lady taught me my Greek alphabet, and I shall always think of her as quite the equal of her illustrious brother. We all knew a great deal about the Thoreaus, and when Mr. Sanborn gave forth these rather

spiteful suggestions about Mrs. Thoreau, my mother, who would not thank me for this, said that while Mrs. Thoreau was a most willing and gracious landlady she was not perhaps what might be called a bountiful provider, for it was not the fashion in those days, especially in a place of such plain living and high thinking as Concord, for women to eat so much as they do now. But Sanborn was a young, strong, active schoolmaster, blessed with an uncommonly good appetite. All this being so, it was my mother's opinion that the boarder was kept on rather short commons, was hungry in fact, and that years later he "took it out" of Mrs. Thoreau's memory. I tell this in no malicious spirit, but it may throw a little beam on our associate's manner of thinking, and it may suggest that there was always another side to many things that he assailed, to which to the end of his energetic career he was as honestly and persistently blind as he was to the true cause of his assault on Mrs. Thoreau's yellow ribbons.

Many years ago, while the Concord School of Philosophy was in full blast, I attended one of the sessions to help a classmate "cover" the proceedings of that evening for a Boston paper. Our general instructions were to poke all the fun we wanted to at everybody excepting Miss Elizabeth Peabody. Undoubtedly we obeyed orders, but I do not remember that we felt any inclination to ridicule Mr. Sanborn, who was a vital force in that celebrated philosophical adventure. Oppose him, dislike him as many doubtless did, it was always difficult and it is now still more difficult not to respect him.

Not without a prophetic wisdom did his father, long Town Clerk of Hampton Falls, name him Franklin Benjamin rather than Benjamin Franklin. What Benjamin Franklin was Franklin Benjamin of a surety was not. The feet of one were planted solidly on this earth; the other attempted aerial flights, not always with complete success. Yet both were of the American type, one as much as the other, and both were necessary, in their widely divergent ways, to the moral and intellectual growth of this nation.

Mr. Rhodes then read a paper on "Grant at Donelson; Farragut's Capture of New Orleans"; and Mr. Waters one

on "The Trades and Employments of Ipswich in the Eighteenth Century."

A communication from Mr. LODGE was read,

LAW ON WITCHES.

In a previous communication I called the attention of the Society to some passages in Howell's Letters relating to trials for witchcraft in England in the middle of the seventeenth century. I am not engaged in any study or research relating to witchcraft in New England, but it so happens that quite by accident I came on another passage in an out-of-the-way place which gives rather an interesting view of opinions in Great Britain with reference to witchcraft toward the close of the sixteenth century, not long before the time of the outbreak at Salem.

From my earliest boyhood I have been a reader of Scott and I have read his novels and poems many times. I have also read in past years some of his biographies, but it so chanced that I had never looked at his essays and reviews. One is not prone to think of Sir Walter Scott as a writer of critical articles, but none the less he was a practical critic and a good one. His essays and reviews abound in sound, just criticism, which is often penetrating and suggestive, and is made interesting by the wide and curious learning which furnished him with innumerable anecdotes, told with all the skill of the tale-teller which he possessed in such a high degree.

Among his miscellaneous prose writings, which consist chiefly of contributions to periodicals, there is a long article which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* in January, 1817, upon the "Tales of My Landlord," his own book. A large part of it is obviously written by Scott, but there are passages which it seems difficult to believe that he wrote himself, and yet we are told in a note that the manuscript is entirely in Sir Walter's handwriting. It is a most delightful article, written in reply to a series of essays published by Dr. Thomas M'Crie attacking Scott for what he had said in his novels about the Covenanters. The article to which I refer is nominally a defence of Scott's position, but is in fact chiefly occupied with a most entertaining sketch of his own novels and writings.

In it occurs a quotation from a manuscript by Mr. Law, in the words of Scott "a conscientious but credulous clergyman of the Kirk of Scotland." He also says that Mr. Law was a man of sense and education, and this is the passage written in 1676 which he quotes from the Law manuscript:

"It is remarkable that Michael, Jude 9, durst not bring against Sathan a railing accusation, but said, the Lord rebuke thee, Sathan. But it is a fit to tremble and fear and be upon our watch. Women also in child-birth would look well whom they choice for their midwives, that they be of good report, it being very ordinar for them to be witches, such as are *malae famae*, because such as are so, ordinarily dedicate children to Sathan, especially the first-born, and use to baptize them in the name of the devil privately; howbeit that is of no force nor can be imputed to the children or parents, being free of any accession thereto; yet such a claim the devil may lay to such as to prove very troublesome to them by his temptations all their days, more especially to those children whose mothers are witches, there being nothing more ordinary to them than to dedicate their children to Sathan, and certainly it is a sin and an high provoke of God, and gives great ground to the devil to tempt, when parents are more satisfied with midwives of that name than others, as supposing them to have more skill, more helpfull, and better success in sic a case than others; a sin, I fear, too ryfe in the land, and indeed upon the matter, a forsaking of God. This John Stewart and his sister afore mentioned confessed that his mother gave them to the devil from the womb. It were good that our land had midwives fearing God, educate for that end. Sathan is God's ape, studies to imitate God in his covenanting with his people, so he hath his covenant with his, the seals of his covenant, his nip and the renewing of their covenant with the renewing of the nip, as also his other symbols and tokens, whereby he works, sic as these effigies or images, spells, syllabes and charms; and if he fail in the performance of what he promises, he makes some of them miscarry in their hands, and lays the blame there. I say, he studies to imitate God in his covenant and promises, not for any liking he has to God or his ways, but because he finds God's method ensure the soul to himself: 2dly, for mocking of God and his holy ways. The Earl of Dundonald with

his coach and himself and his lady, going to the marriage of his grandchild to the Lord Montgomery, from Pasley to Eglintown, an. 1676, in December, was stopt by the way at the said Jonet Mathie her daughter's house; the witch now a prisoner in Pasley upon that account; the horses of the coach refused to go by that door, and turned their heads homeward. Whereupon the gentlemen that rode with the Earl dismounted themselves, and yoked their horses in the coach, but by that door they would not go; on which occasion the Earl causes yoke his horses again in the coach, and so drives homeward with his lady and all that was with him to Pasley. A very remarkable passage as has been in our days."

When we find an educated and sensible clergyman of the Church of Scotland, even if he were a credulous one, holding such opinions, evidently with the utmost good faith, I think perhaps we may be less surprised that similar beliefs were entertained by clergymen in New England villages remote from the great world. In any event Mr. Law's faith in "Sathan" will demonstrate that the opinions about witchcraft which had here such terrible results were not peculiar to New England.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. NORCROSS, WASHBURN and T. L. LIVERMORE.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1917.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first VICE-PRESIDENT, Mr. RHODES, in the absence of the PRESIDENT, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian reported the list of donors to the Library since the last meeting.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts and purchases:

From Alfred Bowditch, a series of twelve engravings, by Daniel-Nicolas Chodowiecki, relating to the Stamp Act, 1765, the overthrow of tea, Boston Harbor, 1773, and other events in the Revolutionary War; also a colored caricature by T. S. of "Noddle Island or How are we decieved," published May 12, 1776, by M. Darly, Strand.

From Charles Henry Hart, of New York, photographs of Gawen Brown and of his wife Elizabeth (Byles) Brown, from paintings by Copley.

From Francis Henry Williams, a bronze medal of William Barton Rogers struck to commemorate the Alumni Dedication Reunion June 12 to 14, 1916, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a medal of Schiller, and two Columbus half dollars.

From Miss A. C. Storer, a medal of Dookie College, Victoria, Australia.

From Mr. Norcross, a souvenir of Mount Vernon showing an engraved likeness of Washington and views from a design by Hammatt Billings, 1859.

By purchase, seven medals and tokens.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Dr. Charles Lemuel Nichols, of Worcester, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts of manuscripts:

From Mrs. Frederick L. Gay, the manuscript of the sermon preached at New London, December 7, 1907, by Rev. Gurdon

Saltonstall, occasioned by the death of Governor John ("Fitzjohn") Winthrop, who died at Boston, November 27, 1707. Winthrop was a grandson of the first Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, and was governor of Connecticut 1697–1707.

From Miss Susan Minns, two volumes prepared by her brother, Thomas Minns, a member of this Society, the one, a "History of Martha's Vineyard," completed in 1879; and the second, the "Boylston, Walter and Cotton families," compiled before 1904.

From Justin H. Smith, two volumes of transcripts from the Canadian archives, relating to the War for Independence.

Lawrence Park, of Groton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of Richard Olney, a Resident Member, and called upon Mr. WINSLOW WARREN to pay the tribute to his memory.

Mr. WARREN said:

With the short notice afforded me I cannot hope to do justice to a man of such marked individuality and strong characteristics as Richard Olney. He was my senior at the Bar of Suffolk County by two years, but it has been my good fortune to have known him socially, professionally and politically for nearly half a century, and to have watched his career with the greatest interest and confidence in the development of his strong character. He was ever of a retiring disposition and reticent to a degree. Though far from unsocial, he was so little responsive in manner that he did not make friends easily, though to those who really knew him he was a most agreeable companion. In conversation he was direct and incisive, with a vein of quiet humor; and though never pedantic, he made the impress of a man of deep thought and profound learning. Of vigorous frame, fond of field sports and games, even to his later years, athletic in build, and with an erect, manly carriage, he has been a well-known figure in this community for half a century, and a true representative of the hardy English and Huguenot stock, from which he sprung.

He was born at Oxford, Mass., September 15, 1835, graduated at Brown University in 1856 and at the Harvard Law School in 1858, and was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in 1859. He entered the law office of that eminent and accomplished

Judge, Benjamin F. Thomas, and continued in association with him until the latter's death in 1878; and it is interesting to note that, though less genial in manner, Mr. Olney possessed many of the characteristics of the Judge himself. In 1861 he married the daughter of Judge Thomas and moved to West Roxbury, where he resided for eighteen years.

His progress at the Bar was steady and sure — at first devoting himself to general practice and the trial of jury cases, and later to corporation law, and the law of wills and trusts. As a jury lawyer he lacked the personal magnetism and forensic oratory necessary to success; but in the court cases he early attracted the attention of Bench and Bar by the thorough preparation of his cases and his lucid power of statement, as well as by the quick grasp he showed of the essential points in cases which he argued. He was deeply read in the law, clear in statement, with a cogent and masterly style, and his advice and talents were quickly sought by great corporations and in important will cases, so much so that he soon became one of the leaders of the Suffolk Bar, and for years before his death was recognized as its foremost representative in Massachusetts, if not in New England. In politics he was a Democrat, always a strong party man and yet with a mind singularly open to the consideration of the questions of the day. He served in the Legislature in 1874, and two years later was the party candidate for Attorney General; but he never sought political preferment, and in fact appeared to shun public notice. His utter disregard of expediency, and the positiveness of his convictions and manner as well, marked him as one who would not swerve for temporary popularity, nor cater to any party demand, and while he was admired for his invincible honesty and sound judgment, he did not attract the crowd, but stood as a somewhat unique figure in political life.

I do not think he ever stopped for a moment to ask whether any position he might take would be a popular one, or how it might affect his political friends or constituents. He was always honest with himself, fearless in his pronouncements, sound in his judgment, and whatever he wrote or spoke had such a ring of sincerity that, if it failed to carry conviction, it compelled thought and consideration. Like a Puritan of olden times, he was downright and upright, clear and fearless, with a happy

faculty of expression, and a matured and sound judgment, at times seeming in his indifference to popular approbation to rather enjoy stating opinions that ran counter to the general view.

Though so prominent at the Bar in Massachusetts, his great talents were almost unrecognized in the country until President Cleveland, with his rare faculty of selecting men, called upon him to fill the office of Attorney General of the United States, and later that of Secretary of State. He was eminently fitted for those high positions, and his great abilities and firmness of character soon displayed themselves in his strong and characteristic handling of complicated questions of foreign and domestic policy. His most notable acts were of course in his dealing with the Chicago riots in 1894, and later in his spirited negotiations and policy in regard to the dispute with England in 1895, over the Venezuelan boundary. Grover Cleveland and Richard Olney were kindred spirits in the bold and somewhat hazardous action in both these cases; which of them furnished the greater inspiration in those matters may never be known, but that they worked cordially together, and showed consummate ability and firmness, even to audacity, no one will question.

He leaped at once into the front rank of our eminent statesmen, and when he retired from office had gained a reputation second to very few who had ever occupied the positions. It was a great loss to the country when he left political life and resumed the quiet practice of the law. For the remainder of his life he occupied the proud position of a sort of private counsellor to successive Administrations, and although he took no active part in political life, his voice was often heard in advocacy of his political views, and his utterances received the greatest attention and consideration from friends and opponents alike.

He was tempted by the offer of Judgeships, by the tender on the part of President Wilson of the Ambassadorship to the Court of St. James's, and of the Governorship of the Federal Reserve Board; but he declined them all, and devoted himself to his large practice, enjoying to the utmost the confidence and respect of his fellow citizens.

In 1904 he was prominent as a Democratic candidate for the

Presidency, but his independent and pronounced views and his careless indifference to the arts of a politician were not calculated to gain him popularity or to insure success. If he had any ambition for that high office he was most successful in concealing it, and showed no desire to win political friends or to gain support.

The strong man, the wise counsellor, the eminent lawyer and the high-minded citizen has gone from us; but upon the nation and upon the community in which he dwelt he made the durable impress of one who did his duty faithfully, courageously and well, and left a great and unstained reputation as a lawyer, a statesman and a citizen. His good work will live after him in the benefit and encouragement it has brought to his State and Nation.

He was admitted to this Society in 1897, but other than the memoir of Judge Thomas and his remarks upon the death of Judge Endicott I cannot find that he contributed to the *Proceedings*, nor was he often at the Meetings. His professional cares were too great to allow much time for historical research, but he was well read in history and interested in the historical work of others. His part in this Society was that of a powerful representative of the best citizenship, and of unswerving devotion to all the heavy obligations imposed upon him by a busy and fruitful life.

The Society then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting. In the absence of Dr. J. Collins Warren, who prepared the report of the Council, that report was read by Mr. Washburn.

Report of the Council.

In closing another year of the Society's life, the Council takes the opportunity to review the transactions of the year and to state its main purposes and results.

The Society has received important gifts of printed and manuscript material from members and others. The record of manuscript accessions is given each month, that those interested may know how the collections are developing and that they may learn of records useful in their undertakings. This policy of publicity has attracted the student and the possessors of valuable papers, and encouraged a recognition of the safety

and fitness of the Society as a custodian of historical material. The same publicity cannot be given to the growth of the library in printed books. It is enough to say that a number of important series of historical issues have been acquired, the antiquarian features have not been neglected, and the shelves are richer by nine hundred volumes. For the first time since the days of Robert C. Winthrop the President of the Society is in public life, and to his thoughtful generosity the Society owes a full set in thirty-six volumes of the rare and highly useful "Executive Journals" of the United States Senate, as well as many other public documents of an historical character.

Many wants in printed books remain to be filled, and some are such as may appeal to our members. Files of New England newspapers, bound or unbound, are always welcome, and the same may be said of pamphlets and broadsides relating to New England or national political history. The Society needs in its reference library such standard works as the Reports of Decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, *Niles' Weekly Register*, and English law books of the seventeenth century. The practice of preserving and binding newspapers has almost disappeared among their subscribers, and few law offices accumulate the records of decisions of the past: yet there may exist such material, and the Society would be a fit place of deposit.

It is a matter for regret that the Society in the past has not insisted upon receiving a copy of every publication by its members. It is sufficient to glance over the list of its membership to realize how much could have been thus obtained, and how interesting a showing the whole would afford. Apart from the immediate historical nature of such a collection, the personal qualities would have been notable. It would have contained most of the leading writings on American history during the last century; it would have had the first issues of many literary as well as historical works, and coming from the authors, each volume would have some association or remembrance of the writer's interest in the Society. It is vain to regret what has not been done; but the suggestion of a future gift of this nature by our members comes with some pertinency now, when nothing is required of them by the Society except a lively interest in its welfare and permanent interests.

In this connection may be named a graceful recognition of

council service which has now been shown for three successive years — a gift to the Society by a member who has served his two or three years in Council. The practice, instituted by Mr. Kellen, and continued by Messrs. Greenough and Washburn, is one to be encouraged. From the first two the materials for the study of the early history of Massachusetts were enriched by photographic reproduction of thousands of records located elsewhere; and from Mr. Washburn the Society received original manuscripts and will receive a volume of Collections based upon them.

This leads us to the publications of the Society, the evidence of its continued productiveness in what has given to it its greatest distinction. The volume of *Proceedings* (XLIX in the series) appeared in October, with contents rich in historical reference and documents. The volume of Warren-Adams Letters, forming volume LXXII of the Collections, is in press, and two other volumes of Collections are in process — the Jasper Mauduit Papers, contributed by Mr. Washburn, and the Phips' Treasure Search, contributed by Mrs. Frederick L. Gay. Both will probably be issued during the coming year.

The photostat continues to be fully occupied, and the results prove its utility. The reproduction of the *Boston News-Letter* has now reached through the year 1722. What this means may be thus expressed: 833 issues of the newspaper, or 1890 newspaper pages form a single set in the reproduction, and seventeen sets, or more than 32,000 pages, have been printed, thus placing in seventeen libraries every known issue for the period covered of this earliest of American newspapers in the English language. This makes the undertaking the largest of its kind yet successfully accomplished. It is planned to issue nine more years during the coming year. In addition there have been printed on other orders editions from manuscript of the Parliament Debates of 1626, Milton (Mass.) Church Records, and a vocabulary of a native language of Mexico. The total number of prints made in the last year was 23,191, a gain of 3280 over the product of the previous year. Alterations in paper and chemicals imposed by the war, not to speak of rising prices, have presented problems which Mr. Pearman, the operator of the machine, has overcome with the coöperation of the manufacturer. It is a pleasure to note that the prints sent out by the

Society are recognized as among the best in workmanship, a matter of no little import where carelessness affects the permanency of the print.

The Society has sought to obtain from other depositories in the form of photostatic prints what is needed to complete its possessions. Mr. Winthrop gave to the State of Connecticut some Winthrop papers. Negatives (more than 1000) of these have been obtained. The records and papers of the Boston Committee of Correspondence passed with the Bancroft Collection into the New York Public Library. These are now being photographed for this Society, and we have already received more than 1600 prints on this single item. So, also, a photostatic reproduction of Washington's Ledger A, in the Washington Papers, in the Library of Congress, has been secured — an invaluable personal record of Washington before the War of Independence. Through the courtesy of Mr. James Donovan, City Clerk of Boston, the Society was permitted to photostat the record of "Bonds for Security against Strangers, 1679–1700"; and Miss Helen G. Powers kindly consented to allow a reproduction to be made of an interleaved almanac of 1780, with notes by Col. Caleb Gibbs, in command of Washington's guard. The record is that for the year of Arnold's treason. These are only instances of the manner in which the Society is accumulating historical material, hitherto wholly or almost inaccessible to local students of history, and even not known to exist.

A year ago the Society enlarged its bindery, so as to prepare and bind not only its manuscripts, but also its printed books, pamphlets and newspapers. Acting under authority of the Council the necessary machines and implements were obtained, and in time the experiment was in operation. The extraordinary rise in price of all materials used in binding, and the impossibility of obtaining such items as hand-made and foreign papers and leathers, have interfered somewhat with the intended development of the bindery. Yet the experience of a year under such disadvantages has fulfilled the expectations entertained at the outset. In place of having two or three hundred volumes bound by an outside shop each year — a number absurdly out of proportion to what required immediate binding — the returns show that 155 volumes of manuscripts, 386

books,[1] and 1242 separate pamphlets were treated and bound within our own walls, and at no risk of error, damage or loss. The materials are carefully selected, the workmanship is better than that given to libraries, and greater attention is given to each individual piece. The gain is thus distinct.

Nor have the higher qualities of binding been neglected. Leathers are too expensive to be generally employed, but more valuable manuscripts demand such a material. Examples of half and full morocco, turkey and crushed levant, and solander cases have been made in numbers, and confidence is felt that with a return of normal conditions every requirement of a first-class bindery, artistic and material, will be met. The cost is naturally heavy, when measured by the resources of the Society applicable to such a purpose. The same expenditure on binding in another establishment would not begin to give the same results in number, in finish, or in permanency of material.

The Society will receive from its members and bind at cost whatever may be offered. In this way a part of the financial burden will be divided.

In two directions the Society has its action definitely marked out for it. It is a publishing society, rich in its past performance, and as rich in its future promise. The series of numbered volumes issued under the titles of *Collections* and *Proceedings* contains one hundred and twenty volumes, and the unnumbered occasional volumes are sufficient to give more than a volume for each year of the Society's existence, a record which cannot be equalled by any other like Society in the United States. The quality of these publications gives them high rank among historical issues, and the Society's reputation largely rests upon it. In addition to its printing, however, the Society has become the possessor of original materials of history, and notably of manuscripts and New England newspapers. Buy it cannot, nor will it seek to compete with its sister libraries in the neighborhood, which are so much more conveniently situated and more largely endowed for collecting printed material. It is somewhat mortifying to learn of Massachusetts records, public as well as private, long held by individuals without a knowledge of their historical relations, passing into the auction

[1] Of which eighty-nine were volumes of newspapers.

room and being scattered beyond any hope of reassembling and being greatly depreciated in their value to the historian by being thus torn apart from their proper location and connection. It is once more urged that any member, having knowledge of such material, will give notice of it to the Editor, that the necessary steps may be taken to place them in the Society for preservation and use. Here they will be better cared for than in any other depository, because special attention and facilities for arranging, repairing, binding and indexing manuscripts are to be found. At no previous time have these advantages been offered in so good form, and each year will bring us nearer to a perfection which only special and continued experience and comparison of methods can produce.

It only remains to speak of the needs of the Society. The shelf room is practically exhausted, and the situation as to storage and reading room remains as it was described a year ago. With every economy of space the necessity of more space is emphasized, and the library arrangement is hampered. The only effective remedy is a building for stacks on the land owned by the Society, a plan which will permit a distribution of the present crowded sections, give ample reading room, provide fit quarters for photostat and bindery, and allow an elevator to be installed. A building fund sufficient for that end is most desirable. The generosity of individual members has been called upon to aid in acquiring historical manuscripts of special interest, and in publishing volumes of collections. Something more is needed, however, to provide for the future — permanent funds, which may be devoted to such purposes as to the Council may seem good. That the Society is rich in endowments is not true, for the legitimate demands upon its resources tend continually to increase. As it has depended upon special bequests in the past, so it should be supported by special gifts and bequests in the future, and the Council appeals to the generous recognition by the members of the Society's position as an historical society, one which will enable it to maintain and to increase its utility and reputation.

Report of the Treasurer.

In presenting his annual report of the finances of the Society Mr. Lord said:

I desire to make a brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, supplementing what is set forth in detail in the Treasurer's report submitted in print.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196,000.

2. The Library and Collections, which have never been appraised.

3. The Investments of the Society, which are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit I of the Treasurer's Report, at $494,087.12. Of this sum the two centenary funds amount to $72,786.19, of which amount $66,991.03 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $5,795.16 of the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the income of these funds must be added to the principal until the expiration of one hundred years from their receipt, or, in the case of the Sibley Centenary Fund, the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The gross income of the Society from all sources the past year was $32,200.05, of which $25,880.96 was the income of the invested funds. From this gross income must be deducted the income of the two centenary funds, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, amounting to $3,466.01, and leaving a balance of income available for the general purposes of the Society of $28,734.04.

From the sale of electrotypes the sum of $1,989.78 was received and added to the principal of the General Fund.

The increase in invested funds the past year is $11,760.73, as shown in detail in Exhibit III.

The Investment Account stands on the books at $494,087, but the market value of the investments is $536,760.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1917.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund the past year, appears in Exhibit V in this report. An account of twenty-nine of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1910 (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529); the thirtieth is described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1911 (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 568). The securities held by the Treasurer as investments on account of the above-mentioned funds are as follows:

INVESTMENTS.

Schedule of Bonds.

Chicago & West Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1921		$14,000.00
Chicago & North Michigan R. R. Co.	5%	1931		1,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		5,000.00
Cincinnati, Dayton & Ironton R. R.	5%	1941		5,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1940		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921	"joint"	50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Detroit, Grand Rapids & Western R. R.	4%	1946		2,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities	5%			25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929		5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933		5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963		5,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942		8,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5%	1938		10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R.	4½%	1961		10,000.00
Arlington Gas Light Co.	5%	1927		10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Power Co.	4½%	1929		10,000.00
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5%	1951		5,000.00
City of New York	6%	1917		2,000.00
City of Cleveland	5%	1917		8,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931		5,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5%	1935		5,000.00
United Zinc & Chemical Co. (with 60 shares pfd., and 60 common)	5%	1928		30,000.00
Railway & Light Securities Co.	5%	1946		5,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5%			4,000.00
			Par value	$388,500.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	$5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Fitchburg R. R. Co. Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.000
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
150	Pacific Mills.	15,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co. Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " " Common	500.00
50	American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5,000.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co. Pfd.	5,000.00
1298	Shares . . . . . Par value	$135,200.00

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,260.69
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	219.87
	$1,480.56

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds, par value	$388,500.00
Stocks, par value	135,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,480.56
	$525,180.56

The balance sheet follows and shows the present condition of the several accounts:

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1917.

Investment Account, Exhibit I	$494,087.12	Funds, Exhibit III . . .	$448,646.62
Cash on hand, Exhibit II	3,258.32	Accumulated Income of Funds, Exhibit IV . .	48,698.82
	$497,345.44		$497,345.44

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance, April 1, 1916			$482,326.39
Bought during year:			
50	Shares American Sugar R'f'g Co. Pfd. . .	$5,781.25	
$1,000	Consumers Power Co., 5%, 1936	1,000.00	
1,000	United Electric Securities Co., Series 28, due 1939	1,000.00	
5,000	Railway & Light Securities Co., 5%, due 1946	4,950.00	
4,000	Plymouth Electric Light Co.	4,000.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book . .		45.96	
" "	Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	8.52	
	Total Additions, Exhibit II		16,785.73
			$499,112.12
Securities matured and sold:			
$1,000	United Electric Securities Co., 5% Series 30	$1,025.00	
1,000	Consumers Power Co., 5%, 1936	1,000.00	
3,000	City of New York, 6%	3,000.00	
	Total Deductions, Exhibit II		5,025.00
	Balance, March 31, 1917		$494,087.12

EXHIBIT II.

CASH ACCOUNT.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1916			$9,688.25
Receipts during year to March 31, 1917:			
Sales by Library:			
Publications	$479.02		
Photostat[1]	3,437.44		
Duplicates	664.50		
Bindery	171.85		
Royalties, Little Brown & Co.	8.54		
" Houghton Mifflin & Co. "Adams"	1,546.63	$6,307.98	
Rebates		11.11	
Credited to General Fund Income		6,319.09	
Interest on Bank Balances	174.56		
" " Savings Bank Books	54.48		
Income from Investments	25,651.96		
Total		25,880.96	
Total credited to Income of Funds, Exhibit V			$32,200.05
Securities sold or matured			5,025.00
Electrotypes sold, credited to Principal General Fund			1,989.78
			$48,903.08
Charges during year to March 31, 1917:			
Investment Account: Securities bought		$16,731.25	
Savings Bank Interest		54.48	
Total additions, Exhibit I		$16,785.73	
Income Account:			
Bindery, Wages	$1,411.60		
Supplies	880.55		
Plant	572.44	$2,864.59	
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, and Mss.		2,471.78	
Building:			
Cleaning	$366.45		
Engineer	1,063.35		
Fuel	543.75		
Furniture	221.27		
Light	393.96		
Repairs	1,820.12		
Telephone	118.54		
Water	78.40	4,605.84	
Photostat		3,369.25	
Portraits		242.85	
Postage		162.02	
Carry forward		$13,716.33	$16,785.73 $48,903.08

[1] Includes $398.60 due on work done in the previous year.

CASH ACCOUNT — *Continued.*

Brought forward			$16,785.73	$48,903.08
Printing:				
Proceedings, vol. 49	$1,325.15			
" " 50	487.81			
Illustrations and Reprints	452.57			
Adams' "Autobiography"	518.17			
Phips	4.40	2,788.10		
Miscellaneous		83.50		
Salaries:				
Librarian's Assistants	$4,567.00			
Editor and Assistant	6,080.00	10,647.00		
Stationery		67.35		
Treasurer's office:				
Bond	$25.00			
Bookkeeper	1,000.00			
Safety Vault	50.00			
Certified Public Accountant	25.00	1,100.00		
Miscellaneous		456.75		
Charged Income of Funds, Exhibit V		28,859.03		
Investment Account			$16,785.73	
Total Payments				45,644.76
Balance on hand, March 31, 1917				$3,258.32

EXHIBIT III.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1916–1917.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1916		$443,190.83
Added during year:		
General Fund, Electrotypes sold		1,989.78
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$275.96	
J. L. Sibley Fund	3,190.05	3,466.01
Total of Funds, March 31, 1917		$448,646.62

EXHIBIT IV.

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1916	$48,823.81
Income during year, Exhibit II	32,200.05
	$81,023.86
Expenditures, Exhibit II	28,859.03
	$52,164.83
Less additions to Centenary Funds	3,466.01
Balance, March 31, 1917	$48,698.82

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1917.

	Balance Mar. 31,'16	Income	Expenditures	Balance Mar. 31,'17	Principal of Funds
Amory	$1,944.00	$178.96	$170.00	$1,952.96	$3,000.00
Appleton	6,051.92	727.95	1,080.00	5,699.87	12,203.00
Bigelow	586.63	119.31	237.84	468.10	2,000.00
Billings	3,149.50	596.54	335.85	3,410.19	10,000.00
Brattle St.	111.35	8.52		119.87	100.00
Chamberlain	84.98	73.49	78.40	80.07	1,232.33
Dowse	.05	596.54	540.00	56.59	10,000.00
Ellis	31.80	1,889.00	1,748.57	172.23	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,706.97	178.96	175.00	2,710.93	3,000.00
General	1,632.33	9,706.58	10,551.34	787.56	56,709.16
Hunnewell	1,667.64	298.27		1,965.91	5,000.00
Lawrence	276.54	178.96		455.50	3,000.00
Lowell	396.64	178.96	175.00	400.60	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	6,412.73	596.54	458.87	6,550.40	10,000.00
Parker	22.98	45.96	43.98	24.96	1,000.00
Peabody	2,019.86	1,319.73	487.81	2,851.78	22,123.00
Salisbury	213.99	298.27	349.01	163.25	5,000.00
Savage	774.00	357.92	285.40	846.52	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	168.04	1,342.78	1,173.14	337.68	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	4,445.40	7,222.82	7,911.27	3,756.95	121,077.00
Slafter	165.32	59.65		224.97	1,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,646.40	298.27	315.00	1,629.67	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,087.61	596.54	673.01	4,011.14	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	3,781.81	596.54	652.14	3,726.21	10,000.00
Waterston Library	30.17	231.16	211.50	49.83	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,811.96	596.54	690.27	4,718.23	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	373.65	141.02	107.91	406.76	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,229.54	298.27	407.72	1,120.09	5,000.00
Balance, Mar. 31, 1916	$48,823.81				375,860.43
General Income		$28,734.04			
" Expenditures			$28.859.03		
" Balance				$48,698.82	
Sibley Centenary		3,190.05			66,991.03
Anonymous Centenary		275.96			5,795.16
Total Income, 1917		$32,200.05			
Total Funds, March 31, 1917					$448,646.62

The income for the year derived from the investments and credited to the several funds in proportion to the amount in which they stand on the Treasurer's books was nearly six per cent on the funds.

The real estate, which is entirely unencumbered, represents an investment of $97,990.32, and before 1916 has been carried at this sum and balanced by the items,

Building Fund	$72,990.32
Ellis House	25,000.00

The aggregate amount of the permanent funds including unexpended balances represented by securities at par and deposits is $525,180.56, as per schedules of investments.

ARTHUR LORD,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, April 2, 1917.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society as made up to April 1, 1917, have attended to that duty, and report that they find that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report.

They have engaged the services of Mr. Gideon M. Mansfield, a Certified Public Accountant, who reports to them that he finds the accounts correctly kept and properly vouched, that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for, and that the trial balance is accurately taken from the ledger.

HAROLD MURDOCK,
HENRY H. EDES,
Committee.

BOSTON, April 6, 1917.

Report of the Librarian.

The Librarian reports that during the last three years there have been added to the Library:

	1915	1916	1917
Books	1,502	910	2,565
Pamphlets	1,056	1,436	1,296 [1]
Manuscripts, bound	43	84	155
Broadsides	178	54	96
Maps	35	10	25
Total	2,814	2,494	4,137

In the collection of manuscripts there are estimated to be 1639 volumes.

In the Rebellion collection there are now 3548 volumes and 6639 pamphlets.

The Library is estimated to contain 61,306 volumes, 119,204 pamphlets, and 5536 broadsides. The manuscripts have never been entirely counted, but number some hundreds of thousands.

Samuel A. Green,
Librarian.

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

The additions to the Cabinet have been reported from month to month and printed in the *Proceedings*, so it seems necessary now only to refer to these monthly reports for the various items.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports that "since the last annual meeting there have been added to the collection by gift and purchase 206 pieces, of which 87 were struck in Massachusetts. The total collection now numbers 11,124 pieces, of which 1286 are strictly Massachusetts — far the largest collection of the kind extant."

Grenville H. Norcross,
Cabinet-Keeper.

April 12, 1917.

[1] In the Library 1533 pamphlets were bound, all of a biographical description. This number is included in that of "Books."

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

The Committee to Examine the Library and Cabinet has held its meeting in the Society's Building, and, with the cordial aid of the curators, has made as careful an investigation as they are capable of making. The chief value which, they hope, may attach to their report consists in the chance that, coming to such an examination with comparatively fresh eyes, they may detect certain conditions which, through familiarity, have perhaps lost significance to those who are in constant charge.

The Committee feel that the Society's exceptionally valuable collection of coins and medals ought to be better arranged and made more accessible. The little room off the Dowse Library, where the collection is now kept, is well located and large enough for the purpose; but it ought to be made fire-proof so far as possible, by replacing the present varnished wood floor with one of fire-proof material, and by substituting metal trimmings for the present wooden door, threshold, door casing, sash and window casing. The black walnut cabinets in which the collection is kept are in a condition which would invite rather than discourage the attentions of the casual pilferer, and should be replaced by properly designed metal cabinets, which would afford better protection against fire, could be more securely locked, would occupy less space, and could also be so arranged as to permit of a thorough inspection of coins without handling. The Society is exceedingly fortunate in having the services of so competent and interested a curator as Dr. Storer. Yet it is manifestly unfair to ask him to devote the time and pains necessary for a proper cataloguing of this collection. The services of some acknowledged professional expert in such matters ought to be secured; such a man, for example, as Mr. Howland Wood of the American Numismatic Society, who might go over the collection carefully and make a thorough report, with recommendations, for the assistance of Dr. Storer.

There are in the possession of the Society something like two hundred portraits in oil. Some of these are in need of attention. As oil paintings require attention about every twenty years, it follows that to look after our two hundred paintings on any continuous plan would involve treating ten of them annually. For this service we estimate a cost of $20 per painting, or $200

a year. We recommend that this policy of caring for the Society's paintings be made a part of the Society's permanent policy for the proper maintenance of its property. We feel that the authorities of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts must be better posted on the care of paintings than any other persons in the city, and accordingly recommend that whatever attention the paintings require be given them through the Art Museum's representative, Mr. H. E. Thompson. A sample of his work will soon be available for the members' criticism in the portrait of Samuel Appleton, now being renovated, through the generosity of a member of the family. By adhering to some such plan as this, each one of the Society's paintings would come in for its turn of cleansing and revarnishing once in twenty years, which is about the proper interval when such treatment becomes necessary.

The wall stacks in the Library are the old wooden stacks, and constitute something of a fire hazard. Conditions in the Library present a problem which the Committee are not slow to recognize, and which they contemplate with the usual attitude of dismay. There is need of more room — more shelf room, more room for work tables, more room for such as may desire to come and study. A previous Committee has called the Society's attention to the desirability, not to say obligation, of making our unique collections more accessible to those who are qualified to appreciate them and make profitable use of them. Your present Committee considers that point worthy of emphasis. The mere possession of such treasures carries with it the duty of hospitality to serious-minded and conscientious investigators. Yet all these considerations taken together, the need of room, and light, and shelves, and tables, and fire-proofing, constitute what is essentially a single great problem, which cannot wisely be solved by makeshifts and temporary expedients, but which must be met as a single problem and by drastic methods. We can simply bear our humble testimony to the existence of this problem, and wag our heads, as others have done before us.

The Museum on the ground floor is perhaps the spot where the need of room becomes most painfully apparent. The limitations of space here are so great as to virtually defeat the aim of the Museum. While the rearrangement of the show cases is a

great improvement, in that it affords a better light, yet the eye is so bewildered by the mere profusion of articles and labels crowded thickly together, that it is almost impossible to remember anything that one has seen. The Committee hardly dares to make the recommendation, but ventures to raise the question, whether or not it would be more economical of space to transfer the Museum to Ellis Hall. Here is a hall admirably adapted in size, proportion and lighting for the purposes of the Museum. As a hall it is but rarely used. As a museum it would come into a greater degree of usefulness, while the present Museum chamber might take its place as a room for occasional meetings. This, of course, is a very tentative suggestion.

CHARLES E. PARK.
WM. SUMNER APPLETON.
FRANCIS A. FOSTER.

Mr. DANA, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.

JAMES FORD RHODES.
WINSLOW WARREN.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.

ARTHUR LORD.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members at Large of the Council.

SAMUEL WALKER McCALL.
BARRETT WENDELL.
JOSEPH GRAFTON MINOT.
LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT.
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.

Professor MERRIMAN spoke on the Spanish Embassy to the Court of Timour (Tamerlane) in 1403.[1]

Mr. MORISON presented a paper on

THE VOTE OF MASSACHUSETTS ON SUMMONING A CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1776–1916.

On eight separate occasions the voters of Massachusetts have been required to express their opinion for or against calling a convention of delegates, or granting constituent powers to the legislature, to create or revise the fundamental law of the Commonwealth. The response was favorable in six out of the eight referenda, including the most recent, in 1916. I have thought it worth while to tabulate by counties the six votes on calling a convention, of which we have a detailed official record; together with, for purposes of comparison, the highest vote for Governor at the same or the nearest election, and a few other votes on constitutional questions. The arrangement by counties shows the sectional alignment, and the comparison with the highest vote at the same or nearest election enables one to estimate the comparative amount of interest shown by the voters in constitutional questions.

[1] See Markham, *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour, at Samarcand*, A. D. 1403–6 (Hakluyt Society, 1860).

I. *Vote of 1776.*[1]

On September 17, 1776, the House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay passed a resolve recommending the free male inhabitants of each town, twenty-one years and upward, in town meeting assembled, to "consider and determine whether they will give their consent" that the House and Council should resolve themselves into a constitutional convention, to "consult, agree on and enact" a "Constitution and Form of Government, for this State." The people are also to decide whether they wish the result of the Convention's labors to "be made public for the inspection and perusal of the inhabitants before the ratification thereof by the Assembly."[2]

In the Massachusetts Archives there are returns from only 97 towns on this vote,[3] 74 being in favor of granting constituent power to the General Court and 23 opposed.[4] The opposition, however, included such important towns as Boston, Concord, and Attleborough, several of which urged that the only proper organ for drafting a constitution was a convention of delegates especially elected for that purpose alone.[5]

Early in January, 1777, the House appointed a committee to examine these returns, "and to consider of, and report, the most proper measures to be adopted, in order to the establishing a new and good constitution and form of government." This committee was evidently more impressed by the strenuous protesting minority in the town returns than by the majority. It reported to the House, on January 28, 1777: "By the returns

[1] For the history of this first submission of a constitutional question to the people of Massachusetts, see Harry A. Cushing, *History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts* (Columbia Univ. Studies in History, etc., VII. no. 1), 188–202. The *Warren-Adams Letters*, *Collections* LII, should also be consulted.

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives* for 1776, 110. There is also a broadside edition of this resolve in Mass. Archives (CLVI, f. 180). The Massachusetts Legislature during the Revolution before the adoption of the present Constitution was often called the General Assembly as well as the General Court.

[3] *Ib.*, ff. 121–191. They are dated between September 17 and November 18.

[4] Tabulation by Dr. Fred E. Haynes in his "Struggle for the Constitution in Massachusetts" (MS. thesis in Harvard College Library, 1891), 85.

[5] An argument for a full-fledged Constitutional Convention is first found in the return of Concord, dated October 21, 1776. Mass. Archives, CLVI. f. 182. It is suggested in an earlier return of Norton as an alternative only. A convention of Worcester County towns took similar action on November 26, 1776. Cushing, *op. cit.*, 191.

from the several Towns within this State, it appears to be the general expectation of the People, so far as returns are made, That there be a new Constitution and form of Government framed by themselves, so soon as conveniently may be." It also submitted an interesting draft resolve,[1] proposing the procedure subsequently followed in 1779. This recommends that the people be requested to elect delegates "for forming a general Convention, for the sole purpose of framing a new Constitution and form of Civil Government . . . and that every male person of twenty-one years of age and upwards, being liable to taxation, shall have right of voting" for the delegates. Such Constitution as the Convention may adopt, to be submitted to the towns for approbation or disapprobation; the returns to be counted by the Convention, which shall declare the Constitution in force if two-thirds of the people approve; or if not, to frame another and submit it, and so forth, until one meets the popular approval.

After various postponements, this report was brought up for discussion on March 27, 1777. The committee's resolve was defeated by a vote of 25 to 85.[2] Much time and energy would have been saved if it had been adopted.

II. *Vote of 1777, Authorizing the Constitutional Convention of 1777–78.*[3]

Immediately after rejecting this proposal of a full-fledged Constitutional Convention, the House made a fresh start toward securing constituent powers for itself. A joint resolve of May 5, 1777,[4] recommended the qualified voters, at the State election the same month, to choose representatives "in whose

[1] It is to be found, together with the report of January 28, in Mass. Archives, CXXXVII. f. 138.

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives* for 1776–77, 216, 244, 276, 285. Only a single copy of this *Journal* is known, that in the American Antiquarian Society, and even that is incomplete.

[3] For the history of this vote of the Convention of 1777–78, and draft Constitution of February 28, 1778, see Cushing, *op. cit.*, 204–226; Haynes, *op. cit.*, 86–96; and *Old South Leaflet*, No. 209, containing the text of this Constitution. Vol. CLVI of the Mass. Archives contains the journal of the Convention, and a copy of the Committee Report upon which the Constitution of 1778 was based.

[4] *Resolves of the General Assembly of the State of Massachusetts-Bay* for 1776–77, 44. It was also issued in broadside form, of which a copy is in the Mass. Archives, CLVI. f. 199.

integrity and ability they can place the greatest confidence," and to instruct them, in addition to their ordinary duties as representatives, to form one body with the Council and frame a Constitution. Said Constitution to be voted upon by the inhabitants in town meeting assembled, and to be established by the General Court as the "Constitution and Form of Government of the State of Massachusetts-Bay," provided it "is approved by at least two-thirds of those who are free and twenty-one years of age, belonging to this State and present at the several meetings."

There are no returns of the town votes under this resolve in the Massachusetts Archives; it would be necessary to go to the town records in order to find how the State divided on the question.[1] The newly elected House of Representatives, on June 5, 1777, appointed a committee "to call upon the members of the House to know what Instructions their Towns had given them relative to forming a new Constitution of Government, and to examine what returns are made on the Precepts in this Respect."[2] On June 12 this committee reported to the House, which then voted "to proceed in one Body with the Council to form a Constitution of Government, agreeable to the resolve of the General Court of the 5th of May."[3] House and Council accordingly, on June 17, 1777, resolved themselves into the first Massachusetts Constitutional Convention.

I have been unable to discover any official tabulation of the returns of the popular vote on the draft constitution of February 28, 1778, submitted to universal suffrage by this convention on March 4, 1778.[4] A contemporary newspaper statement gives the total vote: Yeas, 2083; nays, 9972.[5]

[1] Boston, for instance, voted unanimously to instruct its representatives not to take part in a constitutional convention formed by the General Court, and clearly indicated that it wanted no constitution not drawn up by a convention especially elected for that purpose. *Boston Record Commissioners*, XVIII. 284–286.

[2] *Journal of the House of Representatives* for 1777, 15. The Resolve of May 5 recommended to the selectmen "on the return of their precepts for the choice of representatives, to signify their having considered this resolve, and their Doings thereon." No precepts for this year are to be found in the Mass. Archives.

[3] *Ib.*, 24.

[4] There are 180 MS. returns in the Mass. Archives (CLVI. ff. 304–432; CLX. ff. 1–31), from which any one with the requisite time and patience could make an interesting tabulation by towns and counties, and analyze the causes of the rejection of this Constitution.

[5] Haynes, *op. cit.*, 93, quoting *Continental Journal*, October 8, 1778; the same

III. *Vote of 1779, Authorizing the Convention of 1779–80.*

A House resolve of February 19, 1779, concurred in by the Council the following day, submitted two questions to the qualified voters in town meeting assembled, to be voted upon before the last Wednesday in May. "First, whether they desire at

State of *Maſſachuſetts-Bay.*

In the Houſe of REPRESENTATIVES, February 19, 1779.

WHEREAS the Conſtitution or Form of Civil Government, which was propoſed by the late Convention of this State to the People thereof, hath been diſapproved by a Majority of the Inhabitants of ſaid State:

And whereas it is doubtful, from the Repreſentations made to this Court, what are the Sentiments of the major Part of the good People of this State as to the Expediency of now proceeding to form a new Conſtitution of Government:

Therefore, *Reſolved*, That the Selectmen of the ſeveral Towns within this State cauſe the Freeholders, and other Inhabitants in their reſpective Towns duly qualified to vote for Repreſentatives, to be lawfully warned to meet together in ſome convenient Place therein, on or before the laſt Wedneſday of *May* next, to conſider of and determine upon the following Queſtions.

Firſt, Whether they chuſe at this Time to have a new Conſtitution or Form of Government made.

Secondly, Whether they will impower their Repreſentatives for the next Year to vote for the calling a State Convention, for the ſole Purpoſe of forming a new Conſtitution, provided it ſhall appear to them, on Examination, that a major Part of the People preſent and voting at the Meetings called in the Manner and for the Purpoſe aforeſaid, ſhall have anſwered the firſt Queſtion in the Affirmative.

And in Order that the Senſe of the People may be known thereon: Be it further *Reſolved*, That the Selectmen of each Town be and hereby are directed to return into the Secretary's Office, on or before the firſt Wedneſday in *June* next, the Doings of their reſpective Towns on the firſt Queſtion above mentioned, certifying the Numbers voting in the Affirmative, and the Numbers voting in the Negative, on ſaid Queſtion.

Sent up for Concurrence,

JOHN PICKERING, *Speaker.*

In COUNCIL, February 20, 1779.

Read and concurred, JOHN AVERY, *Dep. Sec'ry.*

Conſented to by the Major Part of the Council.

A true Copy, Atteſt,

JOHN AVERY, *Dep. Sec'ry.*

this time to have a new Constitution or Form of Government made; Secondly, whether they will empower their representatives in the General Court to summon a Constitutional Convention, provided a majority of those present and voting on this question are favorable."

statement is in the *Massachusetts Spy*, October 15, and the same letter states that 129 towns and plantations made no returns.

V. *Vote of 1820, Authorizing the Convention of 1820–21.*

By an order of the General Court of June 16, 1820, a special election was held on the third Monday in August to decide the question: "Is it expedient that Delegates should be chosen to meet in Convention for the purpose of revising or altering the Constitution of Government of this Commonwealth?" The ayes and noes at this election are given in columns J and K respectively. In column L is the vote for Governor four months earlier. The ratio is about 34 per cent. The proposed amendments drawn up by the Convention of 1820 were submitted to popular vote in April, 1821, and the tabulation of the vote by counties is in the *Journal of Debates and Proceedings* (1853), 633. The highest total vote on any of them was 30,892, on the second proposition, relative to the change of the legislative year.

VI. *Vote of 1851.*

An act of May 24, 1851, submitted to the qualified voters at the regular State election on November 10 the question: "Is it expedient that delegates should be chosen, to meet in convention for the purpose of revising or altering the constitution of government of this Commonwealth?" A majority vote was to determine the question. The result (columns M and N) was unfavorable to holding a convention at that time.

VII. *Vote of 1852, Authorizing the Convention of 1853.*

The same proposition was renewed in an act of May 7, 1852, and submitted to the voters at the regular State election on November 8. The result is given in columns O and P. The total vote on this question fell slightly short of that of 1851, but was favorable, a shift of a few thousand votes in the four western counties producing the change. It was about 81 per cent of the total vote for Governor at the same election (column Q). The popular vote on the new Constitution submitted by the Convention of 1853 is given in columns R and S.

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VIII. *Vote of 1916, Authorizing the Convention of 1917.*

Chapter 98 of the General Acts of 1916, "to ascertain and carry out the will of the people relative to the calling and holding of a Constitutional Convention," [1] placed on the ballot at the State election of November 7, the question: "Shall there be a convention to revise, alter, or amend the constitution of the Commonwealth?" The vote on this question is given in columns T and U. The total is about 64 per cent of the total vote for Governor at the same election, given in column V.

Section 2 of chapter 98 provides that the Convention shall consist of 320 members, 16 to be selected at large, 4 in each of the 16 congressional districts and 240 by the State representative districts. As the number of nominations for delegate-at-large exceeded 48, a primary election for delegates-at-large, the first in the history of the Commonwealth, was held on April 3, 1917, the day that President Wilson's war address was published in the morning newspapers. Each voter voted for 16, and the thirty-two candidates polling the highest vote will go on the ballot at the final election of delegates on May 1. The total vote of the State for the thirty-two highest candidates varied from 83,417 for Charles Francis Adams, to 30,269 for Walter A. Buie.[2]

Mr. FORD communicated a series of letters on

SUMNER'S ORATION ON THE "TRUE GRANDEUR OF NATIONS," JULY 4, 1845.

Miss Sara Norton courteously sent to me two letters from Charles Sumner to her grandfather, Rev. Andrews Norton, and expressed her willingness to present them to the Society. As the Sumner Papers are in the Library of Harvard University, I suggested that these letters would find their proper place there and that this Society would be content to print them. To this Miss Norton agreed. In looking for the Norton letters to which Sumner replied I found a series of letters from other correspondents, all bearing upon the oration of July 4, 1845,

[1] Approved April 3, 1916.
[2] Figures furnished by the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

delivered at the request of the city of Boston. The incidents, pleasant and unpleasant, attending the occasion are related with pious care by Mr. Peirce in his *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, II. 341 *et seq.*, but only a few extracts from critics and sympathizers are given, hardly sufficient to give the variety of comment called out by the oration. The questions then treated arise periodically, witness Kant's plea for universal peace, John Quincy Adams' instructions on the abolition of private war on the sea and this essay by Sumner. The incidents of that particular day, so different from the usual expressions of celebration, have become historical; but the comments have a modern flavor and possess a lasting interest through the writers. My thanks are due to Harvard University Library for the privilege to use these letters.

FRANCIS BOWEN[1] TO CHARLES SUMNER.

CAMBRIDGE, July 4th, 5 o'clock P. M.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — You have fully proved that Peace, at any rate, hath her *orators*, more eloquent than those of War. Thank you both for the substance and the manner of your discourse, for sound and Christian doctrines uttered in more inspiring tones than were ever shouted on the battle-field; and for the firmness and gallantry with which you proclaimed them amid all the pomp and *paraphernalia* (wrong word that!) of the men at arms just beneath you. Two or three of those bronzed old epauletted seadogs eyed you very grimly as you began to broach your heretical doctrines in their ears; but their countenances gradually relaxed as you went on, and before you closed one of them began to unbutton his waistcoat, as I thought, with quite a sentimental and penitential air, as if he had all his life been doing wrong without knowing it. I went along with you very heartily and cordially in all that you said, only mentally affixing some limitations to your expressed views, to which I think in conversation you would very readily assent. Hating all ultraisms, I only wished you to disclaim utter stark *non-resistance* principles in their widest latitude, which you would probably be willing to do — principles, I mean, which would compel a man to stand stock still on Washington Street, and take a beating from any ruffian that might choose to assail him, or to sit equally passive, and see his wife and child butchered before his eyes by savages.

[1] (1811–1890.) He was Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy and Civil Polity in Harvard University (1853–1889).

Discarding these wild heresies, I say, I will shout "Down with war" with you to your heart's content. Grant that this advantage, at least, has resulted from [our] discussions and differences of opinion on nearly all [things] under the sun, that you can give me credit for sincerity in all that I now say, being very sure that if I at heart condemned your doctrine, I should very frankly tell you so. You have enlivened and quickened even the hackneyed topic of *Peace;* you have made figures and statistics eloquent; you have shamed the pomp and circumstance of war, even on its own fair gala-day; and you entirely carried that great audience along with you in your enthusiasm. May the advocates of Peace be proud of their champion! Very cordially and gratefully yours,

FRANCIS BOWEN.

FROM ROBERT C. WATERSTON.[1]

QUINCY, [MASS.], July 7th, 1845.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — I called at your office on Saturday to see you that I might express my sincere thanks for your most noble oration. I should be unjust to my own feelings if I did not express to you how much I honor you for the high Christian stand you took.

No one I am confident, could be more conscious than yourself, that the views you were to advance would not gain the assent of all — that they would in fact meet with opposition, and every one, I think, must have felt that it was infinitely more to your honor, that under such circumstances you so manfully uttered your thought. Your views are no doubt in advance of the time, but there are good men who feel that they are based upon Eternal Truth, and are in strict accordance with the principles of Christ.

I do not know when I have had such high pleasure as I experienced in listening to your eloquent exposition of Gospel Truth. The fact is that men dare not trust Christianity. They seem to have some lurking doubt as to its wisdom. The very Ministers of the Prince of Peace have too often (to their shame be it said) advocated war. They have been sadly false to the spirit of love and brotherhood which is the crowning glory of the religion they profess.

I thank you for so publicly and so fearlessly expressing your views. That oration will live — it will be a text-book for hundreds.

If God gave to us Christianity, he surely knew what was wise and good, and what was adapted to promote the highest interests of man. The spirit of war is directly opposed to the religion of Jesus and the spirit of peace, of forgiveness, of love, of brotherhood,

[1] (1812–1873.)

are in harmony with the Revelation from on high. Should you never do anything else than you have now done, you will not have lived in vain. But I pray that you may long have health and strength to carry out the divine principles you have dared to uphold.

Your oration must be printed and circulated through the whole land. There is a great work for it to do. I hope the City will publish it first, and then that others may contribute to have it printed, and scattered as upon the wings of the wind! I shall be most happy to contribute to have it printed and widely circulated and to do what I can to send it abroad. With the highest regard, Most truly your friend,

R. C. WATERSTON.

P. S. Should you write will you direct as if I were in Boston. The letter will at once reach me. I am with my family, at the Mansion in Quincy, where we wish we might see you. Why will you not come out between this and Friday?

I preached all day yesterday from the text "Our weapons are not carnal, but mighty through God." In the morning I gave a sketch of the peace-principle as supported by Believers through the first, second and third centuries of the Christian Era, and then traced the history, showing also the gross departure in after time. I send you the last part of the sermon, in which I speak of your oration.

In the afternoon I dwelt upon the greatness of moral means and its power to produce mightiest changes. I say this to show you that I desire publicly to express what I have here written. Yours truly.

Mrs. Waterston desires me to say that though she did not share the pleasure of hearing you on Friday, from all she has heard she has felt highly interested in the course you took. She says, that in the language of our agreeable friend and true Poet, Professor Longfellow, you have dared,

> In the world's wide field of Battle
> To be a Hero in the strife.[1]

FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

[July —, 1845.]

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I am in the Natick Post Office, and reading Boston papers. We country folks always come, you know, the day after the fair. But finding that the *Post* is aggressive and the re-

[1] Sumner's reply is in Peirce, II. 374.

spectable Daily [1] fearful, I know you did well, and I've bought or begged a sheet of paper to thank you for the good word you've spoken, tho I've not seen nor heard it. Doubtless it was right-aimed and hit the mark, since the birds flutter.

How did the old "gray fathers" look at hearing the first time since *our* father's days a word *up to the times* — startled? I dare say.

You don't need support of course against your fellow Democrats (the Post?) but if you do, assure yourself of many private men. Thanks for having at last redeemed one city oration from being as usual, a farce. Yours most truly and kindly,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

FROM ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP.[2]

SARATOGA SPRINGS, 9 July, 1845.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — Your note of Monday was handed to me just as I was going to the cars for a journey.

I write now only to acknowledge it and to thank you for it. I will, hereafter, at the earliest opportunity, deal with it a little more at length. Meantime you will have printed your Address and it will be too late to say more or less. This will be of little importance, however; — for I could hardly hope to change opinions so deliberately adopted. Indeed, if you publish at all, you would hardly consent to make any substantial alterations. As to Dr. Vinton, every body believes him to be a sincere and devout man. Many persons agree with him in his interpretation of the Gospel, and nobody doubts that he is conscientious in the matter. Under such circumstances, I confess I was as sorry to have you pass from the argument to imply censure of the *person*, as I was a few hours after when Mr. Park [3] came down personally upon you. P—— was unquestionably harsh and coarse in his attack, and perhaps there was nothing of a similar sort in your allusions to Dr. Vinton. Still both allusions were designed to hold up to public reproach *persons* who had given utterance to their own conscientious and well considered opinions. In this view I regretted both. In haste, but very truly Ever Your Friend and Servant,

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

[1] "The oration . . . was an able and ingenious discourse, though, being upon a subject on which there are diversities of opinion, not likely to be reconciled by argument — the duty of universal peace — it was not received with universal approbation — and at the dinner which followed, the orator being present, it met with some severity of criticism." *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 7, 1845.

[2] (1809–1894.)

[3] John Cochran Park (1804–1889).

FROM JOHN TURNER SARGENT.[1]

LYNN, (Mineral Spring Hotel,) July 10th, '45.

DEAR SIR, — I do so honor every manifestation of the reform spirit, especially among those whose position or rank in life entitles them to wield an influence in society, as does your own; and I do so rejoice in your recent exhibition of "*Independence*" on "*the glorious fourth*" by your eloquent and bold address, and this too in the face of an *armed audience* eager to "charge bayonets" on your freedom of speech. And, furthermore, I do so regret that my absence from the City on that occasion prevented my hearing your celebrated oration, of which the wisest speak so well, that I feel constrained to express to you my sincere respect and warmest sympathy, and the hope that nothing will prevent your giving to the public those words which from all accounts are so admirably calculated to do good and promote among us "the reign of righteousness and the Prince of Peace." The men are few, Sir, allow me to say, the men are few, even of those who avow the most earnest sympathy with the great matters touched upon in your address, who could stand up and say boldly and without flinching just *what* they thought in such a presence as you had, — amid the imposing glories of epaulette and the pomp of our "principalities and powers." That glitter of military parade and authority is but too apt to put out the eyes of otherwise honest and conscientious men while it intimidates not a few who "profess and call themselves Christians" even to the shameful compromise of their Common sense and Christian principle. I rejoice, Sir, that in you the City of Boston, and still more the cause of humanity had an advocate and an orator so superior to all temporizing motives and I trust the words you have recently uttered so well may be duly sanctified to all who have heard as to all who will welcome their publication. I am, dear Sir, with the highest sentiments of respect and esteem, Yours, etc.,

JOHN T. SARGENT.

P. S. In connexion with this subject of free speech, etc. I send you, herewith, a copy of a somewhat homely discourse of mine, published some months ago by request of the Hollis Street Society.[2]

[1] (1807–1877.) A biographical sketch of him is in *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXXI. 436.

[2] *Obstacles to the Truth.* A sermon preached December 8, 1844.

From Eliza Lee Follen.[1]

West Roxbury, July 15th, [18]45.

Dear Friend, — When I hear of a noble manly action I am ever prompted to express my pleasure at it, and to say, "God bless you," to him who has performed it, even though he may be personally unknown to me; I feel then only the bond of universal brotherhood and he does not seem a stranger to me; but when one whom I may call a friend, whom I have watched with a hopeful heart for many years, when I see him redeeming the generous promise of his youth, and acting from the faith that, "Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil," [2] then I must speak and express my joy at the sight.

When I heard that in your fourth of July oration you had disdained to flatter the people, but had spoken as a faithful Christian friend to them, as an honest courageous man rebuking their sins, so that the timid, the time-serving, the selfish condemned you, my heart rejoiced and I implored Heaven's blessings on your head. Go on! in the name of suffering humanity, of the Eternal Right, Go on! be the advocate of peace, of justice, of true universal freedom, speak for those who cannot speak for themselves, be the helper of the helpless, the defender of the defenceless, the friend of the friendless; be a true patriot loving your country more than your country's favor, asking only for that "large recompense," of an increasing power to do good which awaits the faithful soul.

I would have you and every other young man cherish the divine ambition of being the savior of your country, I would have you feel as if its fate depended upon your single arm. Who of us can calculate the effect of a single noble deed? a single faithful word? Who can follow and fully estimate the influence of one true and holy life? but though no sign should be given that the work of our hands prospers, what of that? no good word or act is lost, this is not our care, God is pledged for the final triumph of truth and justice, we are called upon, only to "do what we can," and leave the result to Him. This principle you acted upon the other day when you spoke to your fellow citizens: you then began a work which if you are faithful will have no end in this life, my heart prays that you may go on, and prosper in it.

I am certain that you will justly appreciate this long letter, so I make no apology for it, but subscribe myself Your friend,

Eliza L. Follen.

[1] (1787–1860), widow of Charles Theodore Christian Follen (1796–1840).

[2] Milton, *Lycidas*, line 78.

FROM JOHN PIERPONT.[1]

NIAGARA FALLS, 17th July, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — "By the hearing of the ear" I have just heard of your 4th of July *Peace* oration; and, although I have never had the honour of being one of your correspondents, I cannot resist the impulse that prompts me to sit *right down* and thank you. In this you have deserved and for this you will undoubtedly receive the censure of the time-serving, the fashionable and the sensual portion of the community, together with (what is better yet — good as *that* is), the applause of the wise and the respect and thanks of the truly patriotic and good. So, my good Sir, prepare yourself for both. Both are *desiderata*, and both you will be sure of. For some time — for some *years* — the majority will be against you. The *world* will be against you. "But, be of good cheer," says the Prince of Peace, "I have overcome the world."

I rejoice to hear of such voices having come forth from distinguished and sober laymen, who are not *yet* "fanatics" — to hear such voices come forth from *near* the seats of justice and the temples of municipal law. Peradventure they will come forth, even in *my* day, as I have good hope that they will in *yours*, from the seats of justice and from the legislative halls of our land, themselves.

Permit me, Sir, without taxing your patience, to congratulate you upon your success: — if I hear aright, your *great* success: — to congratulate you upon your opportunity, *Felix opportunitate!* — to congratulate you upon your courage. You will live to regard the 4th of July, 1845, as *the* red letter day, in the calendar of your life. Don't be disquieted at the jeers, — or discouraged at the dark looks, or pushed out of your *high*-way by the cold shoulders that you may encounter. Powerful as all these are, they are not all-powerful — the Supreme Power of the Universe is with *you*, and you will find it so, as will also they who now find fault with and rebuke you. Pardon this hasty but hearty word from one who has no other right to speak it, but that right which is given by a hearty sympathy, and a few more years of experience of the *troubles* in which a man involves himself by daring to be true to his convictions of duty and to the claims of his kind, and to the religion that is professed by so many, and practically regarded by so few.[2] With great respect, and hearty thanks, Your friend and servant,

JNO. PIERPONT.

[1] (1785–1866), pastor of the Hollis Street Church.

[2] For seven years his relations with a party in his church had been far from harmonious. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, I. 454 *n*.

From Samuel Joseph May.[1]

Syracuse, July 22d, 1845.

My dear Sir, — I am sincerely grateful to you for having improved so well, as report tells me you did, the opportunity afforded you on the 4th of July, to speak the truth in the ears of the people. You will not be disconcerted, I trust, by the expressions of displeasure that have come from pseudo-patriots and spurious Christians. The truth, of course, will be opposed and denounced by the abettors of error. But they cannot alter its divine nature — nor lessen its power. It will be truth still — and it will prevail.

I will thank you to send me a copy of your oration.

A few weeks ago the young men of this place invited me to give them a lecture. I did so. The custom of war was my theme My sentiments were received more generally with favor than I expected. Some of my hearers, however, were very much disconcerted, and assailed me in the newspapers; and made such misrepresentations of my address that I caused a copious abstract of it to be published. If I can get a copy I will send it to you. Affectionately yours,

Samuel J. May.

From Nathan Appleton.[2]

Pittsfield, August 11, 1845.

My dear Sumner, — I have received the pamphlet which you were kind enough to send me, and have lost no time in reading it.

I admire the eloquence, power, boldness and truth which it contains. I admire the spirit and grace which run through it, but I cannot go with you the whole way. I believe much may be done to check the spirit of war, to modify its character, but I do not believe that it can be abolished. I believe in the law of *force*, and that human nature as now constituted (and I have no faith in a radical change) can be governed by no other. I should be very unwilling to rely on simple abstract justice, without force to back it. I cannot think it would be safe to leave our harbours unprotected, and to rely for safety on the character of non-combatism. I believe the same rule of war which makes a private ship good prize at sea, would seize her lying at the wharf in port, and I should be very apprehensive for the safety of merchandize in the neighbouring warehouses.

I agree to all you say about the folly and wickedness of going to war for Texas and Oregon, and should hope that it may have some

[1] (1797–1871.) [2] (1779–1861.)

effect in taming the mad lust for war so predominant in our country. The book will be extensively read — both in this country and Europe — and will I trust lead to deep reflection upon the whole subject, and I should hope produce some good result. It is sometimes necessary to "cut beyond the wound," and perhaps it was your idea to go for the whole in order to get half. I am inclined to think a certain degree of war necessary as a part of the system of Providence. Occupation is necessary to man. It is difficult to see how he could find sufficient employment without occasional war or preparation for it. In this country, to be sure, we shall have enough to do for a century or two in converting the wilderness into fruitful fields and populous cities — but what shall we do then? Would not the mass of unemployed wretchedness in Europe be increased if the army and navy were turned loose to seek a support by labour? — already such a drug in the market. It is a matter to think about. If you will make us a visit we will talk it over. After a parching drought we have at last an abundant rain, never more wanted. A few days of our country air will I think be useful to you, and our beds are now all unoccupied. Come. Very truly, Your friend,

N. APPLETON.[1]

FROM ANDREWS NORTON.[2]

MY DEAR SIR, — I admire and heartily sympathize with the fine, independent spirit of your oration. I regret one passage where, an allusion unnecessarily particular, it seems to me to have carried you too far.[3] But you address men as they ought to be addressed, as intellectual and religious beings. Your picture of the evils of war, of the horrible atrocities with which it is often accompanied, of the bad principles and feelings existing in both parties by which it is often produced, of its frequent uselessness, and of the enormous burden which it has imposed on human industry, are very striking and effective. You present facts which as regards the progress of civilization and human improvement cannot be too deeply impressed on the minds of men.

[1] Sumner's reply is in Peirce, II. 375.

[2] (1786–1852.)

[3] "Some of us have heard, within a few short weeks, in a Christian pulpit, from the lips of an eminent Christian divine, a sermon in which we are encouraged to *serve the God of Battles, and, as citizen soldiers, to fight for Peace*," etc. The sermon was delivered before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company by Alexander Hamilton Vinton. In his *Works*, Sumner (I. 56) mentions Vinton, but in the original issue of the oration he devoted much of an appendix to the opinions of this minister.

I might stop here, or rather I might write this over again, striking out the second sentence, and send it to you as a true expression of my thought and feelings. Such it would be, but not the whole truth, and to this as a man of sense and principle you are fully intitled. You ought not to be, and you would not be satisfied, I do not say with a mere compliment, but with the most honest praise, if you believed that there was something kept back which the writer might say to another, though he would not say it to you. Especially would such a communication be most unsatisfactory from a friend.

I will therefore go on to say, that I do not agree with you in all your positions, and in treating a subject which admits of so powerful an appeal to the universal feelings of humanity, in relation to which indisputable truths may be urged with so much effect, it seems to me that one should be particularly on his guard not to weaken the effect by assuming any positions which are untenable. Let us see then where we differ.

You admit that life may be defended at the cost of life. You approve of employing an armed force against pirates and slave-dealers. You will not question that the true end of government, so far as regards the administration of criminal justice, is to protect its subjects from injury and violence from those who are disposed to commit wrong; and that in doing so it must employ force; and that this force, if resisted, must involve the right of taking life. Without this right it would be inefficient, since criminals might easily reduce the government to the alternative either of taking life or of suffering them to escape. You do not adopt the quaker principle that force is not to be employed in putting down evil, which principle stated in proper terms is this, that the whole physical force of mankind, so far as men act directly on one another by means of it, should be delivered up to the injurious and violent, to those who are certain to make the worst uses of it.

On what point then do we differ? On this. I conceive the end of government to be not merely to protect its subjects from injuries that may be inflicted by individuals within its own limits, but from injuries that may be inflicted by individuals of a foreign nation acting under the orders of the government of that nation. If it be the office and duty of a government to do so, this duty involves the right of war. The principle on which the use of force is justified in this case is the same on which its use is justified in any other. Defensive war, therefore, cannot be condemned on principle. But you contend that in the present state of the world no war can be a defensive one. This is saying, in other terms, that the governments of the different civilized nations (for to them the proposition

must be confined) are at the present day so influenced by moral principles and feelings, that no one of them will make an unjust attack by force on any other nation however defenceless, that they none of them entertain a disposition to wage an aggressive war for some supposed national gain. In considering the character of defensive war, there can, I think, hardly be a question of principle between us. The only question must be of fact, in regard to the present state of the world, in which I wish with all my heart I could better agree with you.

It seems to me to have been a common error of those who maintain the great interests of humanity as regards the preservation of peace among nations to confound together the character of aggressive violence, and that of the resistance to such violence, which, though they are wholly unlike, is the more easily done, because such resistance, like the aggression itself, implies the infliction of suffering and death. But we have a right, as you admit, to defend life at the cost of life. I would add, that there are other things better worth defending than life. There are essential interests of our race of more importance than the lives or sufferings of many individuals. For these the patriot or the lover of his kind will not shrink from suffering or death, and all honor is his due and will be paid him. War may have its high virtues as well as its fearful atrocities — the virtues of self-sacrifice.

But you say that it is wholly and in every form inconsistent with Christianity, being forbidden by the express precepts of our Lord. You must observe, however, that the precepts have no specific relation to war, that they relate to the conduct of individuals towards other individuals, and that they command in the strongest language entire irresistance to every form of injury, to blows and to robbery. Understood as you understand them, they are irreconcilable with the principles you maintain, and lead necessarily to those of the Quakers.

But these precepts, which when thus understood embarrass the Gospel with a most serious and irremovable difficulty, are when properly understood among the most striking proofs of its authenticity and of our Lord's divine mission. Like many others in his discourses, they were not precepts of universal obligation, but addressed to his immediate disciples, to those who by being, or by becoming, his followers were to expose themselves to be hated and persecuted — "so that he who kills you shall think he is doing God service." Into this world of enemies they were to go forth to teach, to convert and to reform it. Nothing could be more inconsistent with this, their great duty, than to have undertaken to vindicate their private rights or to repel in any way the injuries to which they would be continually exposed. Instead of being preachers of the

Gospel, if not in words yet by their lives — instead of making converts of other men, they would have been engaged in a perpetual quarrel with them. These circumstances were most peculiar, and high and peculiar virtues were required of them. They were to make a sacrifice of the common rights of our nature. Who else but a teacher from God could have made such a requisition from his fellows? Who would have imagined it to have been made if it had not actually been so?

The precepts concerning irresistance are of the same class as those in which our Lord directed his followers to take no thought for the morrow, to give up all regard for their worldly concerns, to sell all that they had and give it to the poor. And as regards their reference to a then existing and peculiar state of things, they are analogous to many others in the Gospels.

Here I must stop for my own sake as well as yours; for it is more than three months since I have written so much at a sitting, I might almost say since I have written so much. I have not the least doubt that you will take in good part what I have said; and I trust you will feel assured of my sincere sympathy in all your exertions to serve and improve your fellow-men. With great regard, Dear Sir, Yours

ANDREWS NORTON.

CAMBRIDGE, Wednesday, 13 Aug., 1845.

CHARLES SUMNER TO ANDREWS NORTON.

Thursday Evening, [August 14, 1845.]

MY DEAR SIR, — Next to the gratification of receiving an entire assent to opinions, closely and conscientiously cherished, is the satisfaction of knowing that they have been read with care and candor by a mind like yours — at a time too when the weakness of unconfirmed convalescence would amply excuse any apparent indifference to them. I thank you very much for the thought and time you have been willing to bestow upon what I have written, and particularly for the important communication of your views — which I value more than any phrases of mere praise.

I hope that I shall not seem too strongly imbued by the Spirit of Controversy, if I recur for one moment to one point in your letter.

You say that it is the office and duty of a Government to protect its subjects from injuries inflicted by foreign nations, and *that this duty involves the right of war*. I have thought much and anxiously upon this point, without being able to see my way to your conclusion. *This duty clearly involves the right to redress;* precisely as any

wrong received by an individual involves a right to *redress*. But how is the redress to be obtained by nations? Precisely as it is obtained by individuals; not by a resort to *force*, but to *justice*, through the decision of an Arbitrator or a Congress of Nations. He would be thought a madman who should assault his neighbor in the street, in order to determine a question of territory or right.

My argument against war is entirely independent of the texts of the Gospel. I place it on the parallel with the Trial by Battle and the Private Wars of the dark ages; and I submit that the same principles which condemn those outrages, in the relations of individuals, equally condemn war. It seems to me impossible to imagine a question between two Christian nations which shall not arise out of a claim of right, asserted on one side and denied on the other. If this be so, it seems to follow, that *Force* can never determine this question.

With this review of the subject I might have ended the discussion; but I chose to go further, and to consider what I called the *prejudices* by which war is sustained. One of these is the belief in its *necessity*. Under this head I submit, that, in this age, *Arbitration* is an all-sufficient remedy. At this very moment, when war threatens from Mexico, why not refer the question in dispute to a third power? There is no Christian power that would not rejoice to act as Umpire? But the people and Government will not refer it. This is precisely the ground of my complaint. They are so inflamed by the war spirit, that they recognize no peaceful mode of obtaining justice. It is for this reason that I deemed it my duty to speak. I hoped to shew that war was not a *necessity;* nor can I regard it as a *necessity*, unless it can be shewn — 1st that there is no third power who will undertake the duty of arbitration, and 2nd that the good to be gained by war is greater than the evil it will inflict; and, under the last head, I cannot but express my doubts, whether any conceivable good, in our age, would be worth a war.

Another *prejudice* to which I alluded was the opinions of the Christian clergy. I founded no part of my direct argument on the Gospel; but I felt it my duty to meet, so far as I could, the prejudices, as they seemed to me, by which war was sustained, by a mis-interpretation of its texts. If I have erred, therefore, in this part, it seems to me that my main argument still stands. Perhaps, it would have been more prudent in me to avoid all allusion to a topic that seems to be removed from my ordinary inquiries. But, on careful reflection, and under the advice of friends, I felt that I should fail in frankness and truth, if I hesitated to express opinions on that point, which have been the result of study for years. It was in the autumn of 1835 that my attention was specially directed to

the point, whether *Christianity did not forbid all war*. Since then I have read various discussions on both sides. I am not aware that much has been added to the argument in favor of war, since the ample review of the texts by Grotius, in his great work, which I confess he has done with the learning of a theologian and a civilian. Dr. Lieber in his *Political Ethics* has espoused the same side. But the exhaustive argument of Dymond [1] seems to me to displace all the considerations which are urged by both these writers. Dymond takes up all the verses. His conclusions were sustained by Mr. Grimké [2] of South Carolina, and seem also to have the sanction of Dr. Wayland in the pithy passage from his *Elements of Moral Philosophy*, which I have quoted in my Appendix. I have read Dymond carefully; and *I cannot answer him*; nor have I ever seen any answer to him.

The conclusion that *Christianity forbids war* seems sustained by the historical argument of Mr. Clarkson in his affecting review of the opinions and conduct of the Christians during the early centuries.[3] It has also been adopted, after much discussion, as the platform of the American Society; and it was substantially adopted by the Great Peace Convention from different Nations in London in 1843.

It was, then, on my own intimate convictions, and the concurring testimony of so many minds, that had devoted so much attention to this question, that I felt bound to express the opinions that I did. I hope that I did not err; but as I have already said, an error on this point would not disturb my main argument.

If I am right in regarding war as similar in principle to the private wars and trial by battle of the dark ages, it seems difficult to suppose that any true glory can be won on its fields.

As I cast my eyes over these sheets which I have blotted with a rambling and diffuse letter, I feel uncertain whether to send them or burn them. If I should send them, I feel that I may count upon your candid appreciation of the motives which impel me to the support and illustration of a principle, which I have not been able to present to your mind as strongly as I could wish.

Believe me, with sincere gratitude for your kindness, very faithfully yours,

CHARLES SUMNER.

[1] Jonathan Dymond (1796–1828), author of *Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity*, 1823.

[2] Thomas Smith Grimké (1786–1834). In 1834 an American edition of Dymond, with notes by Grimké, appeared in Philadelphia.

[3] Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846). He published in 1817 an *Essay on the Doctrines and Practice of the early Christians as they relate to War*.

P. S. In illustration of the interest which I have taken in this question for many years I may mention an incident of a peculiar character. While in Paris in the winter of 1838 I became acquainted with M. Victor Foucher,[1] one of the King's *Avocats Généraux*, at that time engaged on an extensive work on the *Droit International*, which he fondly hoped would supersede other treatises on that important subject. In the most flattering manner he invited me to peruse the early part of his MS., and to offer such criticisms as occurred to me. After a careful examination of the MS. I returned it to him with a long letter in French (he did not understand English) in which, among other things, I particularly called his attention to a principle which he lays down in his *Prolegomena*, and which he derives from antecedent writers, that war is a natural and necessary mode of determining disputes between nations. I submitted to him the great good he might accomplish, if, first among writers on this subject, he branded that principle as false, and declared war to be monstrous and wicked, as a mode of determining justice between nations. How far he listened to my suggestion I know not, for he never acknowledged my letter, nor has his book been yet published.

Afterwards in Germany on another occasion, when called upon to inscribe a motto, I wrote, "*pacisque*" *imponere morem.*

I know you will pardon these personal details, which your kind letter seems to invite. Wedded to this subject so closely, and devoting myself to it with the single hope of doing some good to my fellow-men, it is not without pain that I have become aware of the mis-representations, not only of the press, but of some, whose intelligence and whose relations to me render their course not a little strange. I have been charged with a violation of decorum in urging what I did on 4th July, as if the day which is devoted to the commemoration of our national greatness is not the fittest occasion to consider earnestly the best means of advancing our national greatness. I have also been charged with an attack on law and order! I attack law and order! My whole argument is to extend the dominion of law and order — to apply it to Nations, as it is now applied to individuals.

But you will tire under this *reduplication* (not the Attic reduplication, you will think!) of a letter, and I can hardly pardon myself for this assault upon your patience.

C. S.

[1] Victor-Adrien Foucher (1802–1866). He never completed this work on international law.

From Peleg Whitman Chandler.[1]

Harpswell, Me., August 15, 1845.

My dear Sumner, — On my arrival at Brunswick from the White Hills, I found a copy of your oration, which I hastened to run over, and now I am reading it deliberately and thoughtfully. It is in every respect a remarkable production, and I find myself converted to many points of your faith, whilst in respect to some others I differ with your *definitions* more than with your *doctrines*. Thus, I think your statement of the definition of war, although legally accurate, comes short of the truth; especially of *defensive* war. And this definition being wrong, I find less difficulty in disposing of your argument against *all* war than I otherwise should. I cannot admit the doctrine that a nation as well as a man may [not] properly resist aggression, having done all in its power to prevent it; nor can I shut my eyes to the fact, that with nations as with individuals there have been cases of aggression, wicked, inexcusable and outrageous, where resistance was lawful and right. If a man spits in my face, I may, with the Marshal of France, wipe off the dishonorable stain, but what if he proceed deliberately to kill my wife and children before my eyes?

But I prefer to read the whole oration before entering upon the discussion. Allow me to say, however, that many points which struck me as untenable, appear in print more reasonable and are carefully guarded. As to the style and diction of your speech, they are admirable. I shall proceed to burn all the remaining copies of my oration on my return.[2] It is fortunate for us, who have delivered orations, that we are able to help our vanity by finding fault with your *sentiments* — this Achilles' heel is really consoling!

I think your statement of the principle by which men should be governed as to the code of honor, the best by far that I have ever seen. At least it has had more effect on me and I have reflected upon it very much. You know I am quite disposed to meet combatants on their own field and fight them with their own weapons; and I have often resolved that, if in Congress, I would meet any man upon proper occasion, in the way he might desire. But no one can read your views without being irresistibly carried away by the soundness, the elevation and the purity of the course you point out. Still my mind in this respect is rather in a transition state. [*Conclusion of letter is lacking.*]

[1] (1816–1889), president of the Common Council at the time of this celebration, and best known for his *American Criminal Trials*.

[2] *The Morals of Freedom*, delivered, July 4, 1844, before the authorities of Boston.

FROM JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

ELMWOOD, August 16, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you for your able and excellent oration, the reading of which I have just finished. It has given me unqualified pleasure, and will surely win for yourself in larger measure than ever the friendship and respect of all good men.

I do not doubt that it will encounter opposition and ridicule, and that the Newspapers (those bloodhounds of a Pagan public Sentiment) will be let loose upon it, and I hope that it will be so. All that truth needs is to attract attention, and for this prime element of her success she is generally indebted to her enemies.

The cause in which you have so gallantly embarked has always been very dear to my heart. If you will look at my "Prometheus" and some verses I wrote on the death of Dr. Channing in particular,[1] you will find that I have not neglected to say my word and take my side upon the question.

I only regret that you should have deemed it necessary to disavow any opposition to the use of force in supporting human governments. But I am willing to leave you entirely to the influence of the principle you yourself have advocated which will inevitably lead you to a different conclusion. *All* force is weak and barbarian, whether it sheds blood, or locks the doors of prisons and watch-houses.

With feelings of warmer esteem than I need commit to the cold keeping of a sheet of paper, I remain Your friend,

J. R. LOWELL.[2]

FROM WENDELL PHILLIPS.

NATICK, August 17, '45.

DEAR SUMNER, — I have just got your Oration and read it immediately of course, glad all along that the thing had been done, and with an undertone of rejoicing that you had done it.

As I closed the last page, I could not help thinking how far ahead you had strode of the C. S. of '32 and '33, and wondering, at the same time, whether I had been all that while seated still, playing with pebbles?

I hope not. 'T is a good thing, nobly done, and will make your name dear to many whom you will never hear of. Probably you

[1] Riverside ed., VII. 105, 286.

[2] See his letter to Longfellow, August 13, 1845, in *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, I. 97.

know this already, as its high position will have attracted to you many a kindly eye, which never greeted you before.

I went with you in almost every thing — here and there margining a *de hoc quaere*, which should we ever be thrown together on a desolate island or in a post chaise I might get time to talk to you about.

I note the limitation and *protestando* of the introductory letter,[1] still, though not a Non-resistant, it puzzles me to see how in the light of the New Testament (Overcome evil with good, etc.) it is wrong in the U. S. to pun[ish] John Bull, and right in this City of Boston to send a poor drunkard over the bridge to pick oakum — or how, in strict principle, R. Island cannoning down the Dorr rising differs from Philip II. doing the same (or trying to do it) to the Dutch?

Don't you agree with me that this old maxim underlies the whole philosophy of penalties and imprisonment — that man should never, like land, cattle, cotton, be made the mere *means* to an *end*, but always himself share largely in the *end*. *A* is never to be imprisoned merely in order that *B* and *C* may be secure: but the morally insane *A* is to be cured, so surrounded with moral influences as to develope his higher and bring under his animal propensities — this the State *owes* him. Restraint is to continue till this is effected, and to be used *mainly* that it may be effected, and, this being the first or one of the first objects of it, its being accompanied with security to *B* and *C* is thus reconciled with your and New Testament principles — overcome, etc.

But art not thou wiser than I? So good bye and Believe me very truly yours,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

I take the liberty of asking that if convenient and you have an ample number, you would send a copy to one of the ablest and most devoted peace men in the State, the Editor of a peace paper and a fine man, whom the news of your 4th July delighted, Adin Ballou,[2] Milford, Mass. I ask it knowing, that if not perfectly convenient, you will refuse as frankly as I ask.

[1] "Allow me to add, that I wish to be understood as restraining my opinions precisely within the limits which I have assigned them in these pages; and particularly to disclaim the suggestion which has been volunteered with regard to them, that Force may not be employed, under the sanction of Justice, in the conservation of the laws and of domestic quiet. All good men must unite in condemning, as barbarous and unchristian, the resort to external Force; in other words to the arbitrament of War; to *International* LYNCH LAW; or the great *Trial by Battle*, to determine justice between nations." This letter is not reprinted in Sumner's *Works*.

[2] (1803– .)

I see the last *Emancipator* is out, as might have been expected, against Mann and Howe. Is the writer Hildreth? He rides in that troop.

FROM EDWARD KENT.[1]

BANGOR, August 17, 1845.

DEAR SIR, — I acknowledge with great gratification the receipt of the copy of your Oration, which you did me the favor and honor to send to me. Ever since I read some of the attacks upon it, at the dinner, I have felt a great desire to read it, for I felt assured that it contained sound truths and startling facts, judging only from the agitation of the *plumes*, produced by the *breeze* you had raised. Permit me to say that I have been greatly instructed and interested by the perusal, and that I deeply feel that you have done more than yeoman service in the great cause of human brotherhood and universal peace, and added to your well established reputation as a scholar and civilian, I have felt more gratified by this bold and unflinching advocacy of the great doctrines of peace, because the views you have expressed are many of them such as I maintained and advanced in a lecture before our Lyceum last winter, delivered at the request of the Managers. I am glad to see those views presented to the public with so much learning and ability and distinctness. The leading idea of my lecture was that Christianity was a religion of peace — that its great aim and object was to bring and establish peace — peace between nations, between man and man and *in* the individual man; that unlike all other religions, it discarded in a great degree, all outward forms, ceremonies and prescriptive observances; that it dealt very little in statutory and positive commands, as to the outward act on any matter, but would bring about its great results by operating on the mind and heart of individual man, convincing, persuading, and purifying by appeals and motives and doctrines addressed to the reason and the affections and not relying upon commanded observances or abstinence. I applied this view to the question of temperance, but particularly to the Christian doctrine of peace. That although there might be no absolute and statutory command, that no Christian should ever engage in war or fightings, as a badge and distinctive mark, like the opposite command of Mahomet, yet the great doctrine was there, and would yet work out its legitimate results, when men understood and felt the force and excellence of the precept — Love your neighbor, and love your enemy. My hope is in individual man and with all the dangers and fears attending the extension of the democratic

[1] (1802–1877), governor of Maine (1838–1840).

idea, I feel that the great central truth of equality and the worth and power of the individual is essentially a great antagonist of the war spirit. For as the *individual* rises, the *captain sinks*. Would not this idea be a good ground work for a popular tract by some *real democratic friend* of Peace, and an offset to the popular tendency to idolize heroes, showing how war is the very opposite of the true democratic idea, and how perfectly the individual is sacrificed, both pecuniarily and morally and politically, by the war spirit and warlike preparations and actual war.

There is one point touched upon in your oration, which, as a practical matter, deserves the serious consideration of the friends of Peace. I have never yet, as the good folks say, "seen my way clear" to advocate the entire dissolution of military force in the State. It seems to me, that a government, without any command over physical force to execute laws, suppress insurrections and maintain the supremacy of law, is an anomaly, and destitute of one essential element. I have no fears about foreign invasion. But what can a government do, without some organized force to call upon in domestic insurrections, riots or resistance? We have had recent and painful evidences of the tendency of men to let temporary excitement or interest or passion overcome all reverence for law and all respect or obedience to authority? It seems to me that the entire disbanding of all physical force is impracticable, at least at present, and until men better understand and obey the great doctrines of peace. But there certainly cannot be any necessity for continuing the old, vexatious and cumbersome militia system. If some practical man would devise a scheme by which, under the name of armed police or militia, a sufficient force for all domestic exigencies could be kept organized and sufficiently trained, and properly located for service, he would, in my judgment, do a good service to the cause of Peace. I know that the difficulty I have indicated is one that is felt by many, and if it could be removed, there would be a very general acquiescence in the abandonment of the old system. But above all things keep the cause of Peace out of the hands of the crazy headed fanatics and fighting and furious advocates, who have neither toleration for dissent, or patience with prejudice, or the calm and enduring spirit of Peace, but who would alarm with their radicalism, the timid conservative, and overthrow with their blind rage the best schemes of reflecting and common sense philanthropy. Excuse the freedom and length of this hasty letter, and believe me, Very respectfully yours,

EDWARD KENT.

FROM THEODORE SEDGWICK.[1]

NEW YORK, August 18th, 1845.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — I have read your Speech with great pleasure. I have heretofore read Jay's War and Peace,[2] and my mind like that of every other person of ordinary intelligence in the County has been turned to the Peace Movement. Yours is certainly one of the ablest, most interesting and most ornate discussions of the subject that I have seen. You flatter me by saying you hope for my concurrence. To a certain extent of course I concur. No one can fail to admit War to be a terrible evil — an unchristian, extravagant, brutal enormity. But in the present stage of the world as to the other branch of your theme, the abolition of our defences, military and naval, to be candid with you I should just as soon "abolish the defences" of my House and sleep with unbarred windows and open doors. Our recent aggressions on Mexico, the atrocious conduct of England in China seem to me pretty tolerable indications that it is not yet safe to go *in puris naturalibus* and trust to the humanity of the gnats not to sting us.

As to the whole subject it seems to me we are yet far from your most desired consummation. War is only one kind — and to my notion not the most abominable kind of *Force*. It is War or the main spring of War — Force which keeps down the millions of Europe at the starving point. It is *Force* which maintains the selfish upper classes of England in their luxurious ascendancy — Force which with the help of four hundred thousand bayonets upholds the mongrel Monarchy of France — Force which stays the crumbling throne of the Pope and enslaves the descendants of the Roman. There are to my mind worse evils than war. I looked through your pages with earnest eye to find some lessons for England and could have wished that after scourging *Decatur* and impaling Dr. *Vinton* you could have found a few words for the Wellingtons, the Marlboroughs and in general for those warlike, aggressive, violent and overbearing Children of Bellona. But you let them pass unscathed. You see I write you with the frankness of a friend, and tell you in what respects I differ. But for the high toned morality, research, refinement and learning of your oration I am altogether your Debtor. "*Don't give up the Ship!*" Yours Ever,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

[1] (1811–1859.)

[2] William Jay (1789–1858), who printed in 1842 *War and Peace; Evils of the first, and a Plan for preserving the last.*

FROM HENRY CHARLES CAREY.[1]

BURLINGTON, August 18. [18]45.

DEAR SIR, — I am indebted to the kindness of our friend Mr. Binney,[2] for the perusal of your excellent discourse on the True Grandeur of Nations, from which I have derived so much pleasure that I am desirous to offer you my thanks for having placed before the world in so attractive a form views so important to the happiness and prosperity of mankind. I have, in my way, done what I could to promote the dissemination of similar ideas. In years past, I have, on various occasions, endeavoured to shew that the true way to secure the maintenance of peace was "not to prepare for war," but to permit labour and its products to be applied to the promotion of the growth of wealth, by which we should become, from day to day, large producers and consumers, and thus more and more necessary to all nations, who would therefore find it almost impossible to quarrel with us. The really "cheap defence of nations" is not to be found in stars and crosses, titles and orders, but in abstaining from everything that can in any manner tend to produce a claim for such absurd distinctions.

Louis Philippe — to whom you are disposed, as I think, to allow far more credit than he deserves — has amused himself, during the whole period that has elapsed since his accession to the throne, with trampling upon all the weak of the earth, from Abd el Kader [3] and Queen Pomaré,[4] Buenos Ayres and Chili, to Portugal and Switzerland, while from the U. S. he has quietly pocketed an affront far more serious than that which produced the deposition of the sovereign of Algiers, and all the subsequent atrocities consequent upon the War in Algeria. The simple reason was that he could not afford to quarrel with us. To do so, might have cost him his crown.

England will do — and has done — more to conciliate us than she will do for any other power. The U. S. are the only one that can undertake, with any hope of success, to set limits to her power on the ocean, the only one that can say to her that the days of Order in Council, paper blockades, rules of '56, and impressment, are over. In the London *New Quarterly* for July, is an article upon the absolute necessity of maintaining the mercantile marine in full

[1] (1793–1879.)

[2] Horace Binney (1780–1875).

[3] A celebrated Arab chieftain, born about 1807, near Mascara, who from 1832 preached a holy war and finally surrendered (in 1847) to the French general, Lamoricière.

[4] Pomaré IV, queen of Tahiti, during whose reign the French assumed a protectorate over the kingdom.

efficiency, as a means of providing at all times a full supply of men for the military marine, yet the author admits that the U. S., without either Army or Navy, "abrogated the navigation laws" as fully as "by resisting the right of search on the high seas they dealt the death blow to that vexatious and presumptuous claim." Here is an answer to his whole argument. We have done that which all the navies and armies of Europe could not have done — compelled England to set bounds to her assumptions of power on the ocean. The breaking down of the right of search is a triumph of peace over war. It is a proof that the influence of nations, like that of individuals, is increased by good conduct, by the maintenance of peace, and by permitting their citizens to employ themselves productively, instead of requiring them to strut about in parti-coloured clothes, with muskets in their hands. While other nations have impoverished themselves by supporting large fleets and armies, preying upon themselves when not employed in robbing and murdering others, we have thriven because we have pursued a different course, and have grown in half a century to be the only power that can face Great Britain. Whoever desires to see this Nation attain to that point when the declaration "I am an American citizen" will ensure to every man entitled to make it the fullest regard to all his rights, should desire to see an end to war and preparation for war — to all Armies and fleets, except so far as indispensably necessary for police. All this is so fully shewn in your excellent discourse that I wish most sincerely it could be distributed — by hundreds of thousands — throughout the country. A neat edition of it might be made, that for large quantities would not cost more than two cents, and I am sure that many persons here, beside myself, would gladly contribute towards the cost of it, uniting with the friends of peace and free government in your quarter, in extending the belief that the happiness and security, the real grandeur, of nations, can be promoted by obedience to the greatest of all the Commandments, and by that means alone.

Your book is not even for sale here, or rather in Philad'a. I spoke of it yesterday to my friend Chandler,[1] of the *U. S. Gazette*. He had heard of it, and would be glad to read and notice it, but he must first *see* it. As I could not get a copy for myself, I was unable to tell him where he could find one.

Some years since, probably while you were abroad, I published a work the object of which was to shew the Harmony that prevailed throughout the laws of Nature that regulate or influence the relation of man with his fellow man — when properly considered.

[1] Joseph Ripley Chandler (1792–1880).

Ricardo teaches that the landlord owes his wealth to the constantly increasing difficulty of obtaining food. Mill, that this difficulty must go on to increase until starvation must become a regular and legitimate mode of keeping down the numbers of mankind. Malthus and McCulloch deem it inexpedient that a nation should be dependent on any other nation for grain, and would limit the population instead of increasing the supply of food. All of them hold that the interests of the labourer and capitalist are opposed to each other, and that profits can rise only at the expense of wages, and *vice versa* that the wages of the labourer can only increase at the cost of the owner of capital. According to all of them, mankind are little better than a parcel of wolves, preying upon and worrying one another. Believing that such could not be the case, I was induced to a careful examination of the laws of the production and distribution of wealth, and at length satisfied myself that the want of harmony was only apparent, and that the real interests of all were precisely the same, that with the increase of capital there was an increase in the return to *both* labourer and capitalist, although the former obtained a constantly increasing *proportion*, leaving to the latter a constantly diminishing *proportion*, as marked by the diminution of the rate of interest, yet *to all parties* there was an increase of *quantity*.

The direct effect of this law of distribution is the tendency to improvement and equality that is observed in all nations in which the growth of wealth is *permitted*, because permission only is needed. The tendency to equality is greatest where wealth grows most rapidly, as in the U. S. and particularly in New England, where every factory girl may, if she will, be an owner of factory stock. It may be repressed by law of primogeniture and other contrivances, as in England, but the Reform bill and the steady progress of popular control, shew that equality is advancing. Physical improvement cannot take place without that increase of the machinery of production which is a consequence of the growth of wealth. Moral improvement cannot be looked for where physical condition is low. Intellectual improvement is a consequence of improved morals. Political improvement — equality of rights — is a consequence of all, and is promotive of all. All improvement flows from the increase of wealth, and wealth cannot grow without peace.

The result at which I arrived was that all political economy was to be found in the single sentence "Do unto your neighbour, as you would that your neighbour should do to you." Respect in him the same right to security of person and property, and opinion, that you would claim for yourself. If legislators and politicians could be persuaded to see this great truth, the whole duty of the political

economist would be limited to that of recording the errors of past times, as a beacon to all future legislators against a repetition of the thousand impertinent interferences with the laws of nature, by which the growth of wealth and the consequent improvement of man have been prevented. He would have to caution his readers against the race of "great" men — men who earn that title by endeavoring to compel those around them to do as they would have them, instead of following their own ideas as to their true interests — such men as Napoleon and Louis, and Jackson, and Colbert, etc., etc.

By the first opportunity that offers I will send you a copy of the book, to care of your publishers, Mess. Ticknor & Co., and request your acceptance of it as some return for the pleasure I have had in the perusal of yours. It contains views that are original — if they have no other merit — and they are supported by facts drawn from all parts of the world in all periods of time, with a view to shew that they are universally true — as, if not so, they have no better claim to be deemed "laws" than those offered to the world by Ricardo-Malthus, which are opposed by the great mass of facts. The "laws of Nature" are always simple — so are my doctrines — and as such is the case, they may perhaps be true. Excuse me for trespassing upon you with this long epistle, but when a man is fairly mounted on his hobby, he does not always know when it is time to dismount. I am, Dear Sir, Yours very truly and respectfully,

HENRY C. CAREY.

FROM SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT.[1]

August 19, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I must attempt to reply to your note which I have just received, though you would excuse my omission to do so, because I think you are in danger of doing *me* injustice, by putting my objection to your discourse on wrong grounds. You have not quoted my last remark to you the other day with verbal accuracy. When I stated my quasi-official objection to the delivery of such opinions, in such a manner, on such an occasion, arising from my recollections of duty as a public agent, you quoted the present Mayor's approbation of your course as authority against my view, and I then said, "You must console yourself with his approbation instead of mine." This was merely to rebut the high estimate you seemed to have of the opinion of the present incumbent, which seemed to you a sufficient answer to my argument, (for I gave you the *reason* of my opinion,) and you answered me with his *authority*,

[1] (1798–1862.)

when it did not appear from any thing said that my objection had ever occurred to his mind. The reason of my saying any thing which had a savor of harshness was this endeavor on your part to treat his authority alone as equivalent to my authority combined with an argument. I confess to some degree of annoyance habitually, when an authority is quoted to me in reply to an argument, especially when it is no breach of modesty to believe that my *dictum*, as such, is entitled to as much weight as that which opposes it. I do not consider the 4th of July as a military occasion at all, but I regard the City Celebration as a sort of literary banquet, (at least it should be,) to which persons doing the drudgery of office during the year, or who have done it in past years, are *invited*, with the expectation, of course, that nothing rude or offensive to them personally shall meet their ears. I consider it just as uncivil to invite a man to that celebration and then wound him by adopting a subject, or a mode of treatment of a subject, known to be disagreeable to him, as it would be to invite him to your own house, and then serve him in the same manner. When people assemble by invitation as to a meeting which is to be regarded as a favor, and is looked to as a pleasure, they have a right to expect to be treated courteously, and not to have the pursuit of their lives held up to an intense degree of odium and scorn, to have every injurious epithet applied to their profession, and the prejudices of their lives rudely assailed. Persons who wish to reform should not, in my judgment, make violent assaults at any time, certainly not on such an occasion, where common sympathies should be addressed and excited, and pleasant feelings only aroused. Doubtless a great sensation may be produced by such a proceeding, but it must inevitably be at the risk of losing a reputation for good judgment and civility, which to me would be far more valuable, if I could gain it, than the applause of thousands of excitable and enthusiastic persons. There are "the opinions of which one outweighs a whole theatre of others." You cannot doubt, and you could not have doubted, when you chose your subject and your style, that every military man present must be offended; and every military man was there *by invitation*, and had, therefore, a claim which should have been, in my judgment, sacredly respected, to be treated in a manner not justly offensive. You can scarcely doubt that those who venerate our fathers will be deeply wounded by the sort of forgiving tone you assume toward them, and every subscriber to Bunker Hill Monument displeased at seeing that battle ground alluded to as a Golgotha. I do not accuse you of hastily adopting opinions for the sake of bringing them out in a striking way. I have no doubt you have entertained them for years. Nor do I doubt in the least that members of the

City Government might suggest to you the topic; but I think it was for you to consider its appropriateness, and to have forborne to press views not in harmony with the occasion. And as a peace man I cannot but regret the tone of the production; but I presume you will find great numbers who will agree with you, and differ from me, on that point; so I will limit my objections to that which I stated the other day, and which I now repeat after having deliberately read the whole. As to the ability and copiousness of information with which the subject is treated, I presume there can be but one opinion, which must undoubtedly be highly satisfactory to you, and I greatly wish that to the other merits of the work there had been added the grace of appropriateness, that you had remembered, "how many things by season seasoned are to their right praise and true perfection."

Notwithstanding all this fault finding, I am quite satisfied that what I think your error, is, if it be one at all, only an error of judgment, and that you are perfectly conscientious in all you have done. Neither have I any doubt that you will find ample recompense for my censure in your own right intentions, and in the loud and numerous plaudits which await you from those who sympathize with you not only in opinion but in temperament. But you cannot expect to command the applause of *all*, and having chosen the side of the enthusiastic and ardent, you must allow those to differ from you who do not expect to work faster than the Almighty, and who have no belief that reforms are best promoted by violence. I hope your oration will be one of the steps by which the cause of peace will advance, and that it will not prove, like the measures of the professed abolitionists, an obstacle to the progress it seems designed to aid. Withal I trust I shall be allowed to remain where I have long been, among your true friends, for I am very Sincerely Yours,

Sam'l A. Eliot.

If I were criticising your oration, I should object to your urging so strongly the renunciation of means of defence, before a tribunal competent to try and *punish* delinquencies was established. The trial by battle and ordeal continued to be practised long after the establishment of courts and juries in England; and it was doubtless frequently a protection against wrong, and therefore better than no trial at all. And so it must be with national war. The competent tribunal of nations must be securely established before you can possibly expect wars to cease. But this is a view in which you are countenanced by many peace men, and I merely express an opinion, valeat quantum. Excuse blunders arising from haste and interruptions.

From Richard Henry Dana, Jr.[1]

August 22, 1845.

Dear Sir, — I have allowed some time to elapse since you did me the kindness to send me your oration, because I did not want my note to fall upon your table, one among the hundreds of every day, which you have had, congratulatory, expostulatory, condemnatory, and laudatory. I have not only read it with great interest, but taken a good deal of pleasure in watching its effect, as shown by the Cerberus of the press.

It is a fair subject for congratulation whenever a man is made, or makes himself to feel that he is exerting influence upon his fellow men for what he thinks to be good. How it breaks up ennui and gives spirit and purpose to life!

Surely, you have accumulated the horrors of war in a way that no one can escape being affected by. It will make all who read it join more earnestly than ever in that solemn litany which goes up constantly, as it has for ages, the world over, in every tongue, "from battle and murder and from sudden death, Good Lord deliver us." "Give to all nations of the earth unity, peace and concord."

I had read Dr. V[inton]'s sermon and needed no ghost to tell me that he was making a forced and fantastical use of a plain sentiment to support his theory. The truth is, he is infected by the Genevan and Protestant fashion of relying upon single proof-texts, expounded according to what is called, by compliment, private judgment. The true question is, what is the *whole gospel*, the *faith* and *practice delivered*, upon this subject.

The criticism in the note is very neat and able, but I was most sorry, grieved, to see the turn of expression with which the critic (who I suppose is a Unitarian, or rather Humanitarian) begins the first paragraph on the 101st page.[2] I believe I do not mistake the feeling of people when I conjecture that more persons will be offended by that than by anything in Dr. V.'s sermon. It is common to fall into an error of interpretation, and even a false view, which has names of innumerable good men to support it, is pardoned, but a want of reverence we are apt to think an indication more dangerous. I know the purpose of the critic was to make a *reductio ad impossibile* — I refer to the manner of doing it.

It is not for me to speak of the ability of your performance. You will hear of that from better judges. But I may say that I was

[1] (1815–1882.)

[2] "If Christ meant what the paraphrase makes him to imply, he was guilty of a dishonest trick; a jesuitical playing with the ambiguities of human speech."

struck with the manifest earnestness, sincerity and humaneness of feeling. Nor can I help alluding to the picturesque and dramatic effect produced. I left it with distinct pictures and images of scenes, persons and places in my mind, and feel as though I had seen and acted in some great and terrible crises. How rare this power is, in a writer! Long drawn descriptions, full length portraits, studied images and figures — none of these will ensure it. In a professed epic or romance, art may attain to it, but I believe that it cannot break out, unawares, in a work of different description unless there is earnestness of feeling to set fancy on.

Neither am I capable of controverting your positions; but I must say I wish you had read a little, or a good deal, in that class of writings I spoke to you of. I shall not be satisfied until the whole subject of the "use of force, under Christianity" is taken up together. The parent punishes the child, by a painful and degrading infliction on its body, though this body is a "temple of the Holy Ghost," though the child is made in the image of God, and its angels are beholding the face of our Father in Heaven. The state declares what it believes to be justice. This is the law. For an offence against this law, the state punishes the citizen, by confinement, by want, by disgrace, and even by death. And where capital punishment is abolished, yet *force* is the sanction of every law, force, even if it end in riot and death. All this under Christianity! I confess I should want as clear a warrant from on high to lead a fellow creature silently and alone to the gallows, with force to prevent rescue, as I should to lead out the British army from "Belgium's capital," or to fire upon a mob in the city of Brotherly love. These things do not differ *essentially, in principle.* It is not on the principle of deciding which is right, as by lot, that we go to war. We must know that we are right first. I take it that war is an act of the state, punishing strangers for a violation of a generally recognized law of nations, just as it punishes its own citizens for violating its municipal laws. Property and liberty are first aimed at, and life only is the extreme sanction.

It is only on the principle that the same God who punishes violations of His laws in this world and in the world to come, has established His kingdom upon earth, and has committed unto men a certain duty of carrying out the principles of His government here — it is only as the vicegerents of the Most High, that the State has any right to use force upon citizens or strangers, or the parent upon the child. It is thus that Holy Scripture says, "the powers that be are ordained of God, . . . for the *punishment of the evil* and the reward of the good," and for this purpose "*they bear not the sword in vain.*"

The sword of justice, that is, the right and duty to use *force*, is committed to the State, in a less degree to the parent, and to some extent, in certain emergencies, to the individual. If this confided force is used unjustly, it is a sin, and is punished, or punishable by the Most High. It is a sin to bear the sword for private ends. Is it not also a sin to "bear the sword in vain"?

But it is foolish in me to open this deep subject. Its depth is sublime, its comprehensiveness immeasurable. And I am on a sheet of letter paper — a fit example of human attainment, is it not?

I am truly glad you give yourself to such a subject, and with such success. Let me join my congratulations to the host of those you are receiving, with all sincerity. Yours truly,

RICH'D H. DANA, JR.[1]

FROM WILLIAM JAY.

BEDFORD, West Chester C'y, 22 August, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — A few days since I returned from New Port, and found waiting my arrival a copy of your late address which you had kindly forwarded to me. That evening when the family had retired, I carried the pamphlet into my study and sat down to the feast you had provided. Mrs. Jay, awakening after midnight and missing her husband, arose to seek him and learn the cause of his absence. She found him engaged with the address, and lecturing him on keeping such bad hours, vainly attempted to send him to bed. The address, Appendix, notes and all, were finished at one sitting. And now, my dear Sir, I have much to thank you for. Of course self-love would naturally admire any production which offered so much to gratify personal vanity, as your very partial remarks respecting myself. For the friendly feelings which prompted those remarks accept my sincere acknowledgments. But far other than personal considerations lead me to rejoice in this address. The high moral courage you have exhibited, the elevated principles you have advanced, the important facts you have spread before the community, your powerful arguments expressed in strong and beautiful language, together with the wide and salutary influence your effort will exert, all combine to swell the debt of gratitude which you have earned from your fellow citizens. That debt I well know will be *repudiated* by many, and very partially paid by others; but you will find a rich reward in your consciousness of well doing, in the esteem of men whose esteem is valuable,

[1] Sumner's reply is in Peirce, II. 377.

and above all in the approbation of Him whose favour is better than life.

One of the greatest beauties of the address, if I may so speak of a negative quality, is its freedom from *demagogism*, that endemic moral plague of our country — a plague with which we are cursed above all other people on the face of the earth. A remarkable case of this vile disease you will find mentioned in the enclosed paper. You will recollect that when we last met, talking about the prison discipline Society, I promised to send you a letter I had written in vindication of the Pennsylvania system. I now discover I did not retain a draft of that letter, and in its place I send you one about the Vicksburg murders. It is but justice to Mr. Dwight to state, that in his reply he condemned and regretted the passage on which I had animadverted and declared that it was admitted into the Report through inadvertence. With sentiments of sincere and cordial regard, I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

WILLIAM JAY.

FROM THOMAS GREAVES CARY.[1]

August 23, '45.

DEAR SIR, — I am obliged for the copy of your oration. I have read it with great interest; and am sorry that you did not deliver it a year sooner, as it might have saved me the trouble, and, as you think, the folly of aiding in an attempt to sustain the militia. In my simplicity, I had supposed that it was rendering a useful service to the republic by preserving a safeguard for the execution of the laws. You do not seem to me to have proved the reverse to be true, nor to have given correct estimates of the cost or the effect of the system, notwithstanding what Mr. Jay says. But you present the subject in close connection with other statements so forcible that I expect to see new discredit thrown upon the "National Guard." The burlesque of *Col. Pluck*, which I think led to the audacity of the late riots in Philadelphia will probably be renewed; and, if the country will have it so, I have no objection to take my chance, as other people must, of Lynch law, anti-rent murders, and Dorrite rebellions.

You present an admirable criticism on the misuse of Dr. Vinton's text; but it would come with more force if you had, in your own address, enlarged upon the whole of our Saviour's injunction instead of confining yourself to that portion of it which suits your present purpose. If we are literally to "turn the other cheek"

[1] (1791–1859.) See 1 *Proceedings*, XVIII. 166.

rather than resent a blow, we are equally bound to give up the "coat" after the "cloak" is taken; and yet, I presume that you are, still, ready to commence an action of trespass, when the facts will sustain one, instead of advising a client to quiet submission.

I observe that, after remarking on the misuse of language by others, you coolly prepare to charge off upon "your nature" any failure to act thoroughly on principle. Yet it seems to be well established that we are all as much bound to thorough performance of duty as if we were ordained clergymen.

Queen Pomaré, now, and the Tyrolese, in the time of Napoleon, would probably dispute your assertion that there can be no war purely of self-defence in our age.

It would probably have required but little alteration in the performance to make every position, that you need occupy for the end in view, almost impregnable; and I should suppose that this would have rendered it more effective and useful, by inspiring confidence in the practicability of what you propose.

You can safely disregard all this pecking at you, however. You have undertaken so good a cause, and have made so strong a statement of it that your oration is likely to make a lasting impression by encouraging the friends of peace and increasing their number.

After so much crime and misery from our side, it seems safe to cheer you forward on the other; which I do, and am, Dear Sir, Very truly yours,

THOMAS G. CARY.

FROM NATHANIEL LANGDON FROTHINGHAM.[1]

25th August, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — On getting home from a journey last Thursday evening, I found your promised oration on my table, and have given it already one careful reading which I propose soon to repeat. In thanking you for it, and for your kindness in thus remembering me — which I most heartily do — I am sure that I shall not be suspected of any intention to pass more compliments if I say that I hardly knew which to admire most in your discourse, its lofty sentiments or its splendid literary ability. I probably agree with you further than might have seemed from the playful conversation we had together the other day at Mr. Longfellow's table, though I should still plead for "another handle to the cup," and put in a claim for the great Nemesis, that you would hardly be willing to admit. To your leading principle I with all my heart

[1] (1793–1870.) See *Proceedings*, XI. 371.

assent. The greater part of your positions seem to me absolutely impregnable. But I apprehend I might differ from you in some of their inferences and applications. As I am writing, however, only to thank you, I will say no more about the matter; more especially as I should be in danger of running into an essay instead of scribbling a note of acknowledgment, if I should begin to enlarge upon it. Perhaps I shall have the pleasure of talking it over with you one of these days.

I will only tell you at present of one little point that has rather amused me. As we sat together at dinner you spoke of the non-resisting method of quelling dogs; a very sensible way, which, though no Ulysses, I have both practised and recommended. It so chanced, that I was at that time regaling myself with reading Owen's new edition of the Odyssey; and a few days after our talk, came to the passage in the 14th book. Now, thought I, I have found an excellent illustration of Mr. Sumner's doctrine, which I shall not fail to acquaint him with. On reading the Oration, however, I perceived that it had not escaped you. Indeed, he must be a shrewd gleaner that could pick up anything where you had been through. But now for *my* side of the matter, and in the name of the goddess aforementioned. According to Homer's account if the "godlike swineherd" had not plied his brickbats pretty sturdily, his master would have been likely to flutter more rags than he brought with him, in spite of his pacific ingenuity. Moreover, we read at the close of the book that Eumaeus himself, on setting out from home, had the precaution to take with him a sharp javelin, *ὀξὺν ἄκοντα,* which is declared to be a good defence against *dogs* and men, *κυνῶν ἀλκτῆρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν.*[1]

Believe me, my dear Sir, Very sincerely yours,

N. L. FROTHINGHAM.

FROM BRADFORD SUMNER.[2]

BOSTON, August 27th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I received a few days ago, a copy of your discourse, which you were kind enough to send me, delivered on our last national anniversary. I thank you for it, and have great pleasure in saying, that the sentiments it contains, are in accordance with my own, and are such, as I have long entertained, and advocated, as I have had opportunity. The address will doubtless be exposed, for a time, to the assault of a few redoubtable ones,

[1] *Odyssey*, XIV. 531.

[2] Died 1856, "an honorable and upright lawyer of the Suffolk Bar."

among us, who talk in "swelling words" of wars, and battlefields, and military prowess, and who are most valiant where there is no danger; but those flippant criticisms will soon give place, to the sober, better judgment of the many.

The discourse after all that has been said, and will be said, will do you good. Its doctrines are founded in truth, and will prevail. It is *now* spoken of, as an expression of independence and moral courage, highly creditable to the author. I have not made these few remarks from any apprehension, that you need a kind word from any quarter, but as an avowal of my concurrence, in the sentiments you have advanced, and so well sustained, not by arguments and illustrations drawn from supposed cases, which are not always the surest test of truth, but from facts, and events, as they are before us, and pass under our own observation. But I have said enough, and perhaps too much. Yours Respectfully and Truly,

B. SUMNER.

FROM CHRISTIAN EDWARD DETMOLD.[1]

NEW YORK, August 29: 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — If I have not written ere this to thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your Oration it is simply because I did not read it until within the last few days. Immediately on its receipt it was taken possession of by the ladies, who passed it from hand to hand until at last it was returned to me. From them it has elicited with one accord a hearty approbation and a sincere admiration, and for myself I can only say with them, that in you a noble cause has found a most noble advocate. In fact you did me but justice in supposing that I would appreciate it and rejoice with you at the excellent effect which this happily timed and admirable exposition of the absurdities of war, has produced.

I believe the general feeling of the respectable portion of the American people is decidedly opposed to any war, except it be a defensive one. War is desired *only* by reckless speculators, ambitious lieutenants and greedy army contractors. Despite of the infinity of rumors daily set afloat by that class of men and alarmists, and the magniloquent vaporing of Mexico, I don't even believe in war with that power on account of Texas — and as to war with England on account of Oregon (which our friend Falconer[2] so conclusively proves to belong to England) I have not the least

[1] (1810–1887.)

[2] Thomas Falconer (1805–1882), author of *Oregon Question; Statement of British Claims to Oregon Territory* (1845).

shadow of apprehension. "Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle," and in this supremely utilitarian age that is an important point to be regarded. However a few days now must settle the Mexican matter, when all my most confident calculations and anticipations may be blown to the winds.

From our friend Fay[1] I have not heard by the last steamers; our decision (Cogswell's and mine) in his affair with the Harpers, of which I sent you a copy, was not satisfactory to him, and caused Mrs. F. to write me a most singular epistle, which I'll show you, when I am fortunate enough to meet you, as also a copy of my letter to him explaining at length the reasons that brought upon us the conviction that he was in error. I expect to hear from Fay by the steamer now about due. How is your health now? I trust it is entirely and permanently restored. Still you must not presume upon it by burning too much of the midnight oil. And how is Prof. Felton?[2] The Doctor joins me in friendly greetings to him and to yourself. Very sincerely Yours,

C. E. DETMOLD.

FROM JACOB HARVEY.

NEW YORK, August 27th, 1845.

MY DEAR SUMNER,— I have been very remiss in not sooner thanking you for the copy of your 4th of July Oration, which reached me several days ago, but I wished first to give it a careful perusal, before writing to you; and one thing and another prevented me from enjoying this pleasure until very lately.

Having been born and educated a Quaker perhaps you will not think a favorable opinion from *me* as of much weight, as you would naturally imagine that I was merely giving an expression to my ancient feelings. I will, therefore, say that I hail with the most lively pleasure the addition of such an advocate on such a Day, to the most glorious of all Causes!

I have always, from my earliest youth, taken the views of War which you have so ably and minutely set forth in this pamphlet, and I have hoped to see the time, when men in public life would become convinced of the truths therein stated, but so degraded is the *science* of politics, in our day, I despair of seeing the initiatory steps taken by any *politician*, the movement must come from such gentlemen as you, who mingle in public life, but are not in place, who can preach *out* of pulpits and *to* men of the world, without

[1] Theodore Sedgwick Fay (1807–).
[2] Cornelius Conway Felton (1807–1862).

being accused of mere Clerical Cant. Next, I wish to see our leading Reviews take up the subject, and advocate your side of the question — *a* public opinion would then be formed among those who have not hitherto paid much attention to the *religious* part of the question, and finally politicians would be forced to yield to this public opinion.

I have not seen your pamphlet advertized here and know not where to get another copy, or to tell my friends where to procure them. Please give me the needful information, as many of the Society of Friends are anxious to obtain a copy. You have of course sent Lord Morpeth[1] a copy. I fear, with all his own good feelings, that you are some years *too soon* for him. I mean for any *practical* use of your doctrines. When did you hear from him? David Colden saw a good deal of him in London, he was extremely kind to him and Judge Kent.[2]

I write in the midst of office bustle in that most noisy street, Wall Street, therefore please excuse brevity and blunders and believe me, Yours ever faithfully,

JACOB HARVEY.

Has your brother returned yet? Come and see us at Hyde Park.

FROM JOHN JAY.[3]

NEW YORK, Sept. 5th, 1845.

MY DEAR SUMNER,— Nearly three weeks since I wrote you a letter in acknowledgment of your noble oration, but by some unhappy mischance it was lost in its passage by private hand from Bedford to this City. I hope you have been kind enough to attribute my silence to accident or mishap, and that you have not thought me insensible to the power and beauty of your pamphlet, or to the kindness which afforded me an early copy.

I read it twice attentively — once to myself and afterwards to my wife and the rest of the family at Bedford, and I can scarcely tell you of the delight and admiration with which I lingered over its pages. It is I think by far the most complete, the most overwhelming argument that has yet been advanced against the cause of war, and I marvel how in the little space of time that had elapsed since I saw you in Boston, and you said a word or two at parting of the theme which you had then just selected, you have

[1] George William Frederick Howard, seventh Earl of Carlisle (1802–1864), known after 1825 as Viscount Morpeth.

[2] William Kent (1802–1861), Royall Professor of Law, Harvard University.

[3] (1817–1894.)

exhausted so great a subject, and have brought Mythology and History, Philosophy, Poetry and figures to illustrate the glorious truths which come from your soul as from an overflowing fountain. I had hoped to have been present at its delivery — a proud occasion for your friends, and I now regret more than ever that I was detained at home; for beyond the pleasure of such a discourse from your lips, "speaking to the ear like music," and to the conscience like the voice of Truth, I should have rejoiced at the sight so seldom witnessed in our land, of one standing up in the midst of a great multitude, and disdainful of "popular noises," impressing upon them with the fearless eloquence of conviction, the folly and wickedness of their darling idols.

I look with confidence for the happiest results in the enlightenment of our nation from the diffusion of your oration. Among the gentlemen to whom I have loaned my copy is Capt. Newton of the late steamer *Missouri*, who has been passing the summer near my father's. He was forcibly struck by it, and expressed himself warmly upon the subject.

I am very sorry to see by the papers that Judge Story [1] is seriously ill. I trust that the statement is exaggerated and that he may long be spared to you.

I have read in part with great interest Longfellow's Poetry of Europe. The Historical Sketches have given me much information, with which I had never met elsewhere. I have to-day sent a copy of the work for my Mother [2] to Mr. Andrews,[3] the American Consul at Malta, who was attentive to the family during their stay in the island. I observe the illustrated edition of Longfellow is nearly ready at Philadelphia. If the excellence of the illustrations is at all proportioned to that of the poems, it will be a work unsurpassed by any in our motherland. I learned with deep regret from the Boston papers some time since that Mr. Hillard's [4] strength was much reduced by the warm weather. I sincerely hope he has recovered. Pray remember me to him and to Mr. and Mrs. Longfellow. My pleasant visit to them at Cambridge recurs to me very often. How is their beautiful boy? My wife [5] and children are still at Bedford where I heartily wish you would pay us your long promised visit. Always, Faithfully Yours,

JOHN JAY.

[1] He died September 10, 1845.
[2] She was a daughter of John McVickar, a merchant of New York.
[3] William W. Andrews, of Massachusetts, appointed in 1834.
[4] George Stillman Hillard (1808–1879).
[5] Eleanor, daughter of Hickson Field of New York.

From Benjamin Douglas Silliman.

New York, September 8, 1845.

You mistake your vocation, my dear Sumner. You should be a soldier and a general. The bravery which led you to declare such doctrine on such a day would secure to you laurels and arches. In *robur et aes triplex* you surpass the old sailor. On my return a day or two ago from the Court of Errors (at Rochester) I found the address which you were so good as to send me. I have read it with *admiration* of its learning, courage and eloquence. I read it aloud to the family the other evening. Its effect was to transform us into "a house divided against itself." It broke us into three parties — one fraction with my mother at the head being rank *Sumnerites*, and concurring in your whole proposition and in the expediency of the address being delivered on the 4th July; the Naval branch of the family (I have two brothers in law now on cruises) and a Navy Surgeon, who was present, pronouncing it utopian, its statistics inaccurate, and its conclusions unsound, while I, like Eldon, *doubted*.

I owe you and Judge Jay a grudge. You have robbed me of one of my most cherished pleasures — that which I derived from military history. I am in the "transition state." You have both demonstrated the wickedness and brutality of war, but you are both too fast for me in the way of conclusions, for I can't think it safe to turn swords into ploughshares until all sword-holders will agree to do the same, and I can't doubt that wars will occasionally be inevitable until the Millennium puts an end to the passions, cupidity and injustice of man. Your address will I am sure do great good. It will strengthen the sentiments which already lead all decent men to deprecate the *ultima ratio*. Those terrible statistics which bristle thro your pages will furnish at the next session of Congress an argument more potent than principle to dissuade from a campaign against Mexico in behalf of slavery.

I suppose that Ruggles told you all about our friend Kent who is enjoying his visit very greatly and has received attentions from many of the high and might (from your friend Lord Morpeth especially) which were unexpected and gratifying.

I have taken the liberty of giving to young Mr. Foster,[1] a student of mine, letters of introduction to you and to Mr. Greenleaf.[2] He was graduated (a year ago) at the head of his class at Col[umbia] College, is studious, clever and ambitious. He is a very moral, gentlemanly and ingenuous youth and will I trust secure your

[1] Jacob Post Giraud Foster (d. 1886).
[2] Simon Greenleaf (1783–1853).

esteem. He is a brother of F. Foster who married Miss Emily How. His father is a rich retired merchant, and the young man aims to make himself a lawyer in the best sense of the term. He goes to your Law School in pursuance of my earnest advice, and if you will favor him with a suggestion as to his expedient course while there I shall be greatly obliged.

I rejoice to see by the papers, that there is reason to expect Judge Story's recovery. Why, why, why does he resign?[1] He cannot so long as life lasts have an adequate excuse.

I hope to see you here this summer. Will you not come in the course of the autumn?

Remember me warmly to Hillard, the Dr. and the Prof. and believe me always and sincerely yours,

B. D. S.

FROM HORACE MANN.

CONCORD, September 8th, 1845.

MY DEAR SUMNER, — I have very carefully read your Oration, and that part of it, which I suppose you considered the pith of the argument, I have read twice. I assure you, too, that I have read it with my mind in as open and receptive a state as it is possible for it to be. There are parts of it — indeed, by far the greater part — which express the noblest spirit, in the noblest words. As to the argument, I wish you had stated your propositions, both a little differently, and a little more clearly. From the brief conversation we had the other day, I think we should differ but little; but you have not stated the case so clearly in the oration. You speak of war as universally unjustifiable, and it is only some time afterwards, that you restrict the doctrine to Christian nations. This early declaration, and later qualification of it, tends to disaffect the reader towards the reception of the general doctrine.

But I can put two cases, palpable and present ones, which I think refute the *universality* of your position. They are those of the Poles, and the negroes at the South. I can feel no hesitation in saying, that if there were only an even chance of succeeding, I think both those people would be justified, before the holiest tribunal, for declaring and waging even the most exterminating war — or indeed, for waging without declaring it.

Your definition of war may be the legal one, that it is "a public, armed contest between nations, in order to establish justice between them." But this is not a fair definition of a class of wars that have

[1] Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, II. 521.

arisen, and, for aught I know, may arise again — such as the war of Holland against Spain, or the war of the American Revolution, or the last war of the Poles, if it may be so called. It is not to establish justice, but to repel injustice, to resist a party who cares nothing for justice. In such a case, your great analogy — the trial by battle — has no relevancy. If a man attacks me, or threatens to take the life of my wife and family, before my eyes, I cannot appeal to the trial of battle; or, even, to the laws of my country. If I wait for that, the wrong is done and is irreparable; and altho there may be some who would be restrained from making the assault because they knew, or if they knew, that I would not repel it; yet there are others who would perpetrate it for that very reason. Now I cannot doubt that if Great Britain had no fear of resistance from us she would do to us what she did to China; and that I hold to be good cause of war.

When aggression is not violent, and immediate danger does not demand immediate resistance, propose mediation. I agree to that. Take every step possible to avert so great a calamity; but if all prove unavailing, then I cannot refrain from saying, FIGHT! You maintain that such overtures *would be* successful. I think you have no right to say that. If it be true, then it is sufficient for your purpose to establish the argument that mediation, etc., should always precede war; for, if always to precede war, and always to be successful, then your point is reached. But another man says they may not be successful. What right, in logic, have you to cut him off from that *postulatum*, in regard to a future event? But I have said more than I intended to against your Oration, and not so much in its favor as it deserves.

In regard to the war of 1812, you state the case so briefly as not to state it fairly. The claim of Great Britain always has been that, *in time of war*, she had a right to reclaim her own subjects wherever found. When Congress declared war against her, she was daily practising on that claim. Subsequently she made peace with all other nations, and relinquished her practice, or would relinquish it, under the claim. Our government therefore waived the condition which they would have insisted upon, had terms of peace been proposed with us, *pending a war by her with another nation.* They said, if she *acts* on such a claim hereafter, we will meet the action when it comes; but we will not continue the war for an abstract principle. It was part of the arrogant title of the British king for centuries that he was king of France. How foolish in France to have *declared*, or *continued* a war, to make G. Britain renounce a title that led to nothing. But suppose G. Britain had attempted to carry out that claim — the offensive acts under it, not the claim

itself — would have been good cause of war. So while she *acted* under an asserted right to board our ships, and take any American citizen away whom she saw fit to kidnap, we justly interfered in behalf of those citizens, but when a new state of things arose, and it was understood that the claim was in *abeyance*, then our government consented to peace.

What an awful strapping you have given Mr. Vinton!! Don't never say anything more to me, about my love-pats to the Boston schoolmasters. Yours very truly and sincerely,

HORACE MANN.[1]

FROM THOMAS HOPKINSON.[2]

LOWELL, September 8, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— I received a copy of your oration with the sign manual of the author, which makes it a precious book to me. As to the matter of the oration, I congratulate you on having made a *sensation* in a 4th July oration. *Hic labor; hoc opus* — and to have accomplished it is *success*, decided and sufficient. This is the point of view in which I regard it as a fourth July oration.

As a literary composition I read it with unqualified satisfaction. I see the old style, the old hand and mind. But it is ripened, condensed, filled up with flowers and fruit, ripe scholarship grafted on a thoughtful mind. Many of its passages rise into eloquence of high order.

As to the general sentiment, I cannot get my hopes of human nature up to the hope, not to say belief, that the nations will have war no more. The future seems to me fraught with war. The world in which my boys will live (and it is their world that, at *my time of life*, I most think of) I believe will be an era of the sword, an age of steel. Where do you see the progress of peace principles? True we do not see wars — in this breathing time, this truce of the ages. But do we not see one of the nations whose war establishment forms the least conspicuous part of her institutions, giving that mortal offence which would amply justify a "*defensive war*"? Were I a Mexican, nothing but a sense of impotency would prevent my taking the stump to raise the war fever. Did not the world just witness the arm of the most enlightened and philanthropic nation on earth, uplifted with the might of war, to avenge the cause of smugglers engaged in forcing a poisonous drug into a nation against the wholesome restraints of its government? What may we hope when power thus stalks over the rights of the weaker?

[1] Sumner's reply is in Peirce, II. 377.

[2] (1804–1856.)

No, my friend, this I fear will ever be [a] militant world, till human nature takes one of the higher phases contemplated by the author of *Vestiges of Creation*. Not a higher *training*, but a higher nature; that must be the change.

But, in the mean time, it was doubtless well to advocate a high standard. The *aliquid immensum, in fructum gerere* is never safer than in questions of morals; and thank you for the rich treat which the *libellum* has afforded me.

My wife wishes me to add that she agrees with *you* decidedly. She believes by enlightening *man as he is*, he can see the folly of war and be brought [to] act for his interest. Aye there's the rub. *Dos pou Sto.*[1] *If* you can enlighten this being of passion, and low desires! Very truly, Your old friend and classmate,

THOS. HOPKINSON.

FROM ELIZA ROBBINS.[2]

NEW YORK, September 9th, 1845.

Dickens makes it an American abomination to write upon ruled paper; now I know that Mr. Sumner is quite as fine a gentleman as the author, and perhaps he is so much finer that he will not be overcome with the ignorant vulgarity of the blue lines, which prevent me from writing in a diagonal fashion, that some of the sex never can avoid. Perhaps you have cursed your oration twenty times because so many old women proper — and some in pantaloons — have written to you concerning the same, taking up your good time with small homages. Nevertheless I shall come also among them to assure you that without considering the whole of your argument, or even understanding it *completely*, I am highly gratified by the discourse — regarding it a service to humanity, and most especially honorable to you, proving that you have large and practical notions of justice and mercy, and what is more commendable, and admirable, have none of the fear of man before your eyes, possessing and acting out that very moral courage which brought upon Socrates the sentence of death, and forced William Penn into a pestilent prison-house. But this is a better day. Men have now need of all the virtue and wisdom of any age, but they need not fear the wrong-suffering which once awaited the honest expression of great truths. There is much apathy and selfishness to prevent the free course of such announcements, but there is also in the world zeal for the right — so that it be understood; and generous

[1] Δός που στῶ καὶ τὴν γῆν κινήσω.

[2] Compiler of a number of books once popular and now forgotten. See Sabin, *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, XVII. 341.

sympathies are cherished in many hearts for those who have power and opportunity to set it forth. The mere exhibition of the true happiness and virtue of mankind — the true "Grandeur of nations," in the righteousness that exalteth them — will, in God's own time, batter down all the strongholds of physical force, now sustained by prejudices founded in immemorial practice. Christ did not say to ancient paganism, Demolish your altars, throw down your idols. But it has been done at his bidding — in the spirit of his instructions — that is, it is partly done. So, that other spirit of idolatry — the idolatry of misnamed heroes, and heroism, will give place to forbearance, equity, and benevolence. Only the time of such consummation seems very long deferred to us, because to the Ruler of the universe a thousand years of brief individual humanity are as one day. We cannot see why Man's blindness and cruelty and wrath should be his ministers, but,

> He is his own interpreter
> And he will make it plain.

Now perhaps you think I am running into a little fanaticism, but I believe as much in the divine government as in the human agency, and so I cannot separate the one from the other.

Opinion is the power that undermines and overrules all other power. To disabuse the rising race of the war spirit we must infuse peace principles into the common education. I have endeavored to do this in all those little works which in many thousands of copies are, I hope, influencing the young mind of the country. Mr. Bailey [1] of Sheffield in his *Essay on the Formation of Opinions* says, "The only improvement in the condition of mankind that can be rationally expected is their gradually emancipating themselves from the various errors and multiform ignorance in which they are involved. Society commences in barbarism, and it becomes very slowly enlightened: every step in the progress implies the discovery of new truths, or a departure from errors to which it has been accustomed — from notions established and practices consecrated by years." The truths which might forever confute these prescriptive errors, he continues, require to be "familiarised in elementary treatises, *taught in the schools*, wrought into our lighter literature, and instilled into the minds of the young" before they can be received in all their efficacy. So entirely is this my faith that I have for twenty years felt myself *called* — in my poor way — to teach, "here a little, and there a little," the very doctrines you have brought forward on one occasion with so much energy and

[1] Samuel Bailey (1791–1870).

concentration. In all my little instruction books, I have never once spoken of "glorious victories," of "immortal heroes," or "conquerors crowned with laurels." No, there are other and nobler benefactors of men, and let the grateful enthusiasm of youth expend itself upon such. I send you one of these books — not used in your popular education, to show you in small measure the sentiments which pervade the whole series. If you will read the article Page 317 to the end, you will see by what seed-sowing I would forestall the false maxims of vain-glory that still corrupt the young. Please also to read from the 178th to the 180th page, and the preface. Then I will discharge you from said book — which if you give it to some boy that is now fed with worse compends may do him good.

In Albany I went forth with the Discourse in my hand to the Book store, and enquired if there was a Peace Society there, or any people professing such principles. My friend Holley [1] hearing me, answered, "None — they have no principles that I ever heard of." He read the Oration and has written the margin all over with good words. Dr. Dewey [2] is greatly delighted with it, and Mrs. Kirkland, a most intelligent reader, is enjoying it highly. "Thank God," she says, "he is no older."

Your patience having been thoroughly tried, I conclude, Respectfully,

ELIZA ROBBINS.

I am ashamed to send so shabby a book, for the later ones are more sightly, but I have this at hand.

FROM CHARLES TIMOTHY BROOKS.[3]

NEWPORT, September 14, 1845.

DEAR SIR, — In asking your acceptance of my Poem,[4] I have an opportunity to do what I have been for some time intending, namely to thank you for a copy of your noble Oration, which I found waiting for me, when I returned home. I have read nothing of modern production which has moved me so much for some years. It provokes one to love and good works greatly. I am not, however, quite satisfied of the duty, or right, of the better part of a people to omit making military or some kind of force-preparation against assaults which the worser part (is that a good word? it sounds right) of a people may by their madness have provoked.

[1] Orville Luther Holley (1791–1861).
[2] Orville Dewey (1794–1882).
[3] (1813–1883.)
[4] Pronounced before the Φ. B. K., at Cambridge, August 28, 1845.

In showing that such and such wars are not really defensive, e. g., for avenging national honor or recovering national damages (in which I agree with you) it does not seem to me you prove no possible war defensive. I admit the probability of its possibility grows less and less. I had been accustomed to think (and I have not quite given up the notion yet) that turning the direction of the martial propensity toward the fine arts, e. g., poetry and architecture, was ultimately favoring the cause of peace, and that as a certain cannonading blew up the French Revolution, so by the ingenuity and summariness of military enginery, on a sort of Homeopathic principle, the point of war might be sharpened down till it broke off. I hope, at least, that this is the Providential tendency of things. I am prepared to go with you, excepting as to the abolition of all military preparations, and trust I am open to conviction there. One thing is certain, that, as a Christian, I am bound to do, or by my silence suffer, whatever I do or thus allow, from no lower motive than the largest love of man. But you have reminded me that the laws of love and right stand side by side. On whatever point my opinion may be undecided, I am pretty sure I am personally a peace man and a peace maker. I hope you will not find my poem too warlike. Where it seems so, please consider that I am too much of a non-resistant to battle against my enormous combativeness, but just ease it off into the field of the critical and spiritual contest. Yours in the bonds of the gospel of peace, hope and charity.

C. T. BROOKS.

I have written perhaps too hastily on such a subject and to one who has studied, too, so profoundly, but I am too much occupied to rewrite what is writ.

FROM DANIEL APPLETON WHITE.[1]

SALEM, September 16, 1845.

DEAR SIR, — I thank you for sending me a copy of your admirable oration for which I had already honored you in my inmost heart. You could not have taken a higher or nobler subject for your discourse, or one more seasonable and appropriate, and I rejoice that you were able to treat it in so complete and effective a manner. The great principles which you have so powerfully enforced have their foundation in eternal truth and justice as well as in the very essence of Christianity, and must ultimately prevail in the world. I know of no means under Providence better

[1] (1776–1861.)

adapted to hasten their triumph than such exertions as you have now made in their support. Opposition, from whatever quarter it may come, does but the more plainly show the necessity of such exertions, and should serve only to make them more earnest and persevering.

I received your oration yesterday with the more lively gratification, I suppose, from having that moment been reading in the *Daily Advertiser* your beautiful, just and glowing eulogy on Judge Story,[1] which delighted and melted my heart. For this also I thank you most sincerely. With great regard I remain your friend and obedient servant,

D. A. WHITE.

FROM EDWARD JARVIS.[2]

DORCHESTER, 21st September, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,— I feel greatly obliged to you for the gift of your oration of the 4th July last. I have read it with attention and interest, and heartily agree with you in the opinions and the sentiments therein advanced.

When I read it, I felt proud that one placed as you were, where your predecessors, with one exception, him of 1842,[3] had offered up the incense of flattery to the people, should now dare tell the truth, and expose our national shortcomings, and false notions of national greatness.

It seems strange, that the human mind could have admitted such fallacies, in regard to national dignity and character. In physics the whole is the sum of the parts; and what these are individually, that is collectively. But, in national organizations, no such thing happens. That which constitutes the character and dignity of the nation is very different from that which is esteemed the worthy character and dignity of the individual. The man esteems himself, and is esteemed by others, for his probity, his talent and gentleness. But the millions associated together, esteem themselves for their physical force, and their power of destruction. The man is courteous, patient, forgiving — the nation is overbearing, irritable, quarrelsome.

The man shows to friends and strangers his family — his wife and children — the beauties of his neighborhood, and hospitality. The nation displays to foreigners, its fighting men and its instruments of destructiveness, and the property it has stolen from

[1] Reprinted in Sumner's *Works*, I. 133.
[2] (1803–1884.)
[3] Horace Mann.

others. The man is ashamed of his former lawsuits however successful, and he hides all evidence of his quarrels. But the nation hangs its trophies of battle in its churches and public halls, and even baptizes its ships, bridges, etc., by the names of the scenes of its victories.

The British arms and drums disgrace our Senate chamber in Boston, and the Bunker Hill monument tells to every Briton, that we beat his forefathers there. But if the president of the Bunker Hill Monument association should hang up in his own parlor the evidence of a lawsuit, which he had gained over a neighbor, to whom he had afterward become reconciled, or if the president of the Senate parade the account of his election over his rival, to the public gaze, both these men would be considered as, at least, mean fellows.

Such antitheses might be drawn without end, and all would show, that the individual man is a gentleman — modest, quiet, and honest — but the nation is a bully, a braggart, a puppy. It is snappish and barks on slight occasions. It is boastful of its powers and its achievements, and it is ready to fight rather than yield in matters even of a trifling or a doubtful nature.

No respectable farmer considers his character at all involved in the maintenance of his boundary, which his neighbor, equally respectable, disputes. Still less would he fight that neighbor, with fists and bludgeons, for the sake of his doubtful land. But our nation was ready to go to war with Britons for the N. E. Boundary; and pretended, that its character would be sullied by concessions. And our rulers and people considered, that the national dignity was compromised, if they did not collect its debt of France a few years ago. Though every public officer, who professed these sentiments, would have thought it beneath him to connect such collections with his own personal dignity, or have gone into a lawsuit, at the cost of ten times the debt, in order to collect it. The cry was, throughout the nation, we must not yield! we must fight! and let not the national honor be tarnished!

Your oration will be one means toward removing these false notions of national character. But we want such in every town and every family. The spirit of war has gone before you, and ensconces itself everywhere. The instruments of destruction are in every corner — almost in every home. The men of war, the harlequins claim precedence in every public assemblage. Not even our civil, peace loving governor can go [to] hear the commencement at Cambridge, without the accompaniment of a troop of warriors through the streets, and b[ein]g there surrounded by several of these imitation warriors, on the very stage, amidst the ministers of the gospel, women and literature. I was in hope, that the time had come, when

this vulgar display of the follies of barbarism could be done away. Can not some movement be made to remove this coarse sin? The purification of the commencements is but two-thirds done. Gamblers, and grog sellers are removed; but soldiers perch themselves in high places, and annoy the sensibilities of the refined and the true at every anniversary.

Again, I thank you for your oration, not for the copy merely, but for your public sentiments, for your courage and for the influence that must follow from so good a work. Very respectfully your friend,

EDWARD JARVIS.

FROM ————.[1]

MR. SUMNER, — There are two cases, says Mr. Mann — palpable and present — which "refute the universality of your position" that all wars are unjustifiable. "They are those of the Poles and the negroes at the South." Waiving the consideration that these are not cases of war between independent nations, but merely insurrections, and therefore not coming within your position"; and considering them *as wars*, how does he show that they "refute your position"? Simply by saying that he *thinks* that "both those people would be justified before the holiest tribunal for declaring and waging war," etc. Now, whether they would be so "*justified*" is the very question, and is his assuming one side of it to be considered a refutation of your position?

But what is meant by "justified" in this sentence? If Mr. M. had meant that they would be justified according to the common maxims of national policy, or the uncertain and corrupt customs called the Law of nations, there need be no dispute with him — for this is not your criterion; but when he says the "holiest tribunal," we are authorized to suppose he appeals to the authority of the Gospel; the only "tribunal" we should allow to be "holy"; and then we would ask him in what passage or line of that authority, he will find any sanction to the process of recovering any rights or redressing any wrongs however great by the violence and murders of war? Such was not the teaching of him who, "when he was reviled, reviled not again," and who declined the aid of "legions of angels" in defence of the holiest cause; such was not the feeling of myriads of martyrs to his name, who yielded their lives without resistance, to the most detestable of tyrants. Is it indeed Mr. Mann, the enlightened, the humane, the philanthropic Mann, who,

[1] I have not been able to identify the writer of this criticism, and no letter in the same writing was found in this volume of the Sumner Papers.

with the Gospel of peace he reveres in his hand, would encourage the political or the domestic slave to march to his freedom through the sanguinary scenes of battle, and the ferocious massacre of his oppressors?

Mr. Mann objects to your definition of war, that it is a contest to "establish justice" between nations; and he cites three wars as a specimen of a class" which were to "repel injustice," "to resist a party who cares nothing for justice,"— these are the wars between Holland and Spain; the American Revolution; and that of the Poles. Here he is again unfortunate in his selections. These, like every other, were professedly for "justice," which each party alleged to be on its own side; and although the leaders might, in their own minds, "care nothing for justice," yet justice was the ostensible object with both; and the charge of insincerity might be made by both, with equal truth. In the trial by battle, each combatant might, and often did, insist that the other "cared nothing for justice."

But now comes the "stereotyped" extreme case of the attack of an innocent man by some ruffian, who threatens to take his life or those of his family, while there is no time to resort to legal protection; and for the hundredth time we have to answer, that such cases are totally irrelevant to the whole subject. Neither you nor I, nor any rational friend of peace denies the right of self-defence in extreme cases of necessity; but public war has no such necessity; a nation can never possibly be placed in the circumstances here represented, of an individual. War never is waged without some *pretence* at least; and almost always is brought on by successive and increasing acts of irritation and hostility by both parties. The idea of a *strictly* defensive war is an abstraction which has no exemplification in history.

But it is said that though some individuals might abstain from an assault on a man because they knew he was defenceless, "there are others who would perpetrate it for that very reason." Now we know the efficacy of the first mode of repulsion from a great accumulation of facts; not a single proof can be given of the last proposition. I never heard of the case. If Mr. Mann believes in it, let him go about armed to show that he is prepared to resist aggression; and see how much safer he will be. But when this doctrine is applied to nations, long as it has been held by them, it is the most chimerical imaginable; and Mr. Mann astonishes me when he says, "I cannot doubt that if Great Britain had no fear of resistance from us she would do to us as she did to China." Does Mr. M. really believe that Great Britain stands in awe of our puny means of resistance? I have heard a great deal about the ambition and

injustice of Britain; but I think cowardice is the last trait that ought to be imputed to that nation. But if she should treat us like China, Mr. M. holds it "to be good cause of war." That is, injury from one set of men, is "good cause" of *crime* in another.

Mr. Mann thinks you have "no right" to say that "mediation" or negotiation to avoid war would be successful. I think you have a right to say so, because wherever they [have] been honestly and fairly tried they have been successful, when employed for the right cause; but if not successful, he then says, "fight." Is he sure that fighting would be more successful? Is he sure, again, that, if successful, it would not cost more than the claim fought for was worth? Now my opinion — which perhaps in this case is as good, as it is founded on a careful search of history — is, that the cases where kind and conciliatory negotiation or mediation would be successful, compared to those in which fighting would be successful, is at least a hundred to one. Of course I do not mean such negotiation as is usually employed — of an angry defying nature. One plain fact has escaped Mr. Mann. Fighting never makes peace or settles disputes. Whichever party is successful in fighting — peace is always made afterwards by *negotiation*. Why not as well before, as after the nations have mangled each other?

In the last page of Mr. Mann's letter, he makes an argument to show that questions between nations need not be settled to avoid war, so long as neither commits any overt act in violent execution of her claim. The war with Great Britain, after all the cost of blood and treasure, did not settle the question; but left it open for an occasion of future war, when one of the parties should think it expedient to enforce her claim. Had there been no war on our part, is it not probable that when Great Britain made peace with her other foes, this question might have been settled by negotiation? when after war, both parties were too proud to give up their claim, or any part. So much for decisions by war. Yours, etc.

[*Unsigned.*]

From Henry Theodore Tuckerman.[1]

New York, September 22d, 1845.

Dear Sumner, — I thank you for the Oration you were so kind as to send me; and have read it with much satisfaction. As an abstract moral argument it strikes me as quite incontrovertible. The array of facts and many of the illustrations are certainly very forcible. One of the Boston papers I perceive chides you for the

[1] (1813–1871.)

numerous quotations and authorities cited. In my view this is an agreeable feature of the discourse. There is a perverse conservatism observable in most American addresses which abstains from all allusion to the wise and gifted of the past and seems to proceed on the idea that the world began with our revolution — a piece of narrow egotism unworthy a liberal mind. I think you make out a strong case, but fail to recognize *all* that may be said on the other side. There are many indirect agencies growing out of military and naval establishments which should be taken into account. Besides the intellect and moral nature, life should give scope to *adventure*, and while so large a part of the globe is inhabited by barbarians and such an amount of uncivilized brute force exists, the show and latent influence of armaments and soldiership may be an important element of human safety and progress. However, I did not mean to discuss the subject but only to thank you and express my sympathy and pleasure. Please remember me to Longfellow, Hillard and Felton. Very truly yours,

HENRY T. TUCKERMAN.

FROM WILLIAM HENRY FURNESS.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, September 26, '45.

MY DEAR SIR, — I thank you for the copy of your oration which you were so kind as to send me; and rejoice in the opportunity of expressing to you the very great pleasure I had already had in that noble word of yours. I find in that oration the spirit, which is the one thing that our glorious New England lacketh. I have visited Massachusetts only twice in the last seven years, and while I have been deeply impressed with the demonstrations of power and progress everywhere visible in my native state, I have mourned over the want of faith in herself and in truth which she evinces. Boston ought to rule the country (morally). To think of such a little decayed English town as Charleston (S. C.) undertaking to wag a single tongue against Boston tries one's patience.[2] That you have testified so thoroughly to great principles and that Boston has adopted your voice as her voice on so grave an occasion — these are comforting signs. Massachusetts *will* wake to her power. She has only to plant her foot, and she can drag the whole country clean and clear out of those savage *institutions* of the South.

Boston has a great advantage over all other cities. Its citizens are

[1] (1802–1896.)

[2] A reference to the expulsion of Samuel Hoar from Charleston. See Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, II. 515.

native to the soil and strike their roots down deep into it. It is a homestead, while N. Y. and Phila: are hotels, bar-rooms, congregations of foreigners who are worthy people in their way but possessed of no *genius loci*. We compensate ourselves for expatriation by cherishing our pride in our native places.

If Daniel Webster would only throw himself without reserve or stipulation on great principles of Peace and Freedom, he might go forward with the heart of New England in his hand. And what a baptism it would be for his own soul. It would make an archangel of him. But I sate down to thank you and I am scribbling away as to a familiar friend — pardon me and receive these few lines as a token of my high esteem and cordial gratitude. Very truly and respectfully yours,

W. H. FURNESS.

FROM DANIEL LORD.[1]

NEW YORK, September 27, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your visit was too agreeable for me not to remember it. But your very considerate notice in sending me your letter respecting Judge Story and your oration are matters not to be forgotten. I am very happy to make my acknowledgments.

With your feelings about Judge Story I heartily sympathize and your letter recalls all the circumstances which ennoble grief at such a loss. The bereavement of his friendship is to you a loss not to be repaired if indeed it can even be measured.

I have read your oration with great pleasure. I agree with your feelings and sentiments on the subject of war, although I am not able to adopt your views entirely of its unlawfulness; it seems to me substantially to embrace the wider and more general question of the right to employ force in the demand or defence of right, as well in civil government as among nations. But every considerate man must delight in every publication and effort, turning the attention to the horrors and crimes attendant on war. The levity with which men talk of war, of its glories, pomp, circumstance and maxims, is inhuman and in the extreme pernicious. The idea of a war for Oregon, or upon a dispute of title is not a whit more reasonable than for two individuals to fight out a disputed question of private title. Your oration leaves one question undecided as to yourself, and that is whether the Law has gained or Literature lost most, by your having embraced the former. But even this time will decide.

Meanwhile accept my thanks for your two papers and remember

[1] (1795–1868)

me in your visits to New York, which I hope may not be infrequent. I am very respectfully your obedient servant,

DANL. LORD.

FROM BRANTZ MAYER.

BALTIMORE, October 24th, 1845.

DEAR SIR, — I have received, partially read, and thank you for your noble Oration whose principles I hope to see adopted by this age. Until this age adopts them, indeed, it cannot be called an age of advancement. The first great law of all progress is Peace.

It has always struck me as supremely *ridiculous* that there should be such a thing as war. Texas and Mexico to the contrary notwithstanding, it is to be hoped that battle *for conquest of territory* is out of vogue. What then remains as cause of war? Is there anything that might not be honorably settled by discussion? Well, you begin by discussion — discussion ripens to insult — insult produces conflict — conflict produces injury, destruction of property, death. The two parties, in fact, strain every nerve to harm each other most effectually, and, after they have inflicted the greatest number of mutual wrongs, they sit down again to conclude by discussion what began by discussion. Is there clearer perception of right and truth in the controversy of two *lame* men than in the interchange of opinions between two *sound* men? Yet such is precisely the result of modern warfare, since the geographical limits of nations have become pretty well defined by the balance of power in the world.

It has struck me that many of the dangers and evils of war might be obviated by *dignifying* the modern character of diplomacy. I do not, of course, allude to the present class of men, employed (with few exceptions) by our government — persons who are pensioned for political vagabondism; but I think that a race of young men of fine talents, astuteness, purity, truth, *humanity*, and high cultivation, might be put aside or selected by the Government, and educated in *your* principles. These young men should be placed in the diplomatic corps with the understanding that it was to be their *career* — not that they were to be employed for a year or two, and then cast aside as useless danglers around the belles of foreign courts, or graceful writers of letters on the patriotic and constitutional refusal of a snuff box. *Let them rise by merit.* Let their merit be the assurance of our *peace* with the Nations to which they are sent and the progress and promotion of all our industrial interests. I do not think I am greatly wrong when I believe that such a body of honest persons would form the cheapest and most rational Standing Army that the world has ever seen.

Pardon me for throwing this dust among your heap of *peaceful* diamonds and honor me by accepting the accompanying little volume which I have just edited for our Historical Society. I am, dear Sir, your obliged Servant,

BRANTZ MAYER.

FROM GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, October 30, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — Many thanks for your letter and pamphlet.

I had heard enough of your speech to give me a sharp appetite for it: and I assure you that the feast has not come short of my greediness for it. I would that a copy of the speech were in the hands of every reading family in this land and in this world.

The speech will not make you popular. It requires a wiser and a better age to appreciate it. Time and truth will do justice to it and the writer of it.

As I expect to be in Boston a few days hence, I hope that I may have again the pleasure of taking you by the hand. With great regard, Your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

FROM JAMES MILLER MCKIM.[1]

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE,
PHILADELPHIA, November 11, '45.

MR. CHARLES SUMNER, — I have read and greatly admired your 4th of July Address entitled the "True Grandeur of Nations," and in common with many others in this part of the country desire for it a large circulation. The price at which it is now sold will prevent, I think, the widest practicable circulation, and I write therefore to suggest the propriety of publishing a cheaper edition; and to request of you the favor — if it be not too much of a favor — to allow me the privilege of publishing such an edition.

I am induced to take this liberty, first, from the presumption that you would be pleased to have your work as widely spread as possible, and second from the circumstance that, as it appears, no copyright for it has been taken out. I may add further that I have been in the practice of publishing works of this character, for reasons such as I have mentioned. I republished with his consent and approbation several of Dr. Channing's last public addresses. I may also add, that if I were allowed the privilege of republishing

[1] (1810–1874.)

your work I should take pains to do it in a *neat* as well as a cheap form. Yours respectfully,

J. M. McKIM.

FROM JAMES MILLER MCKIM.

PHILADELPHIA, November 19th, 1845.

DEAR SIR, — I had no idea of the amount of matter contained in your pamphlet, till on the receipt of your letter I sat down with our printer to make — or rather to hear him make — an exact estimate of the cost of publishing it. I found that I had set the cost quite too low. The foot notes and appendix make such an amount of composition that it will be impossible to print a *handsome* edition, or any but a quite inferior one, which I would not like to publish and which would be unworthy of the matter — any cheaper (or at least any to be worth while) than the one that is now selling, without a loss to the publisher. Perhaps one or two friends who are interested in the spread of the "oration" will be willing to aid me in printing a cheap edition at a loss; in that case I will go on with it; but if not, I hope you will excuse me for the trouble I have given you and allow me without blame to decline the undertaking. I should have made my estimate, I confess, before I wrote to you for permission to publish, but I had no idea that I could be so deceived in the amount of matter your pamphlet contains.

Whether I print another edition, or continue to purchase them, as I have been doing, at Boston, I hope to be instrumental in circulating many copies through this region of country. I am with much regard, Yours truly,

J. M. McKIM.

FROM ELIHU BURRITT.[1]

WORCESTER, November 19th, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I know that every moment of your time is to the diadem of your reputation a jewel of the first water. But such jewels shine no where else with such benign lustre as in the crown of the PEACE MAKER, the only one worn in two worlds on the same brow. Then, I trust that you will not deem me asking you to throw away your pearls, in soliciting a few thoughts for the January number of *The Advocate of Peace and Universal Brotherhood*. You have been apprised of the fact, that I have taken upon my own shoulders the whole pecuniary and literary responsibility of the *Advocate*, with the view of relieving the Society of a burden and

[1] (1810–1879.)

source of embarrassment, which was fast accumulating a debt upon them. In assuming this charge, I assumed the privilege of applying to the members of the society for aid in filling the columns of the magazine with original matter. I want to bring out something worthy the cause, and honorable to the literary talent of its friends, in the January no.; and if you could furnish a page or two, we should all be profoundly grateful.[1] I prefer this request with much diffidence and hesitation, knowing that it is asking a great deal of you, and what you would not grant to any periodical of the day. But as the cause of Peace dates principally from your oration, it becomes a "Young America" of yours, and you must in a degree father it. With the most cordial esteem,

ELIHU BURRITT.

FROM JOSIAH QUINCY.[2]

BOSTON, 21 November, 1845.

DEAR SIR,— I return you the letters you were kind enough to submit to my perusal with many thanks. It is grateful to find the worth and the amiable qualities of our common friend thus appreciated, by congenial intelligences on the other side of the Atlantic. The hearts of both McCready and Lord Morpeth seem to be touched with a true sense of the peculiar merits of Judge Story and vibrate with feelings in unison with his character.

The views of Judge Story[3] on your 4th of July Oration are coincident with mine, and "with the length and breadth of your doctrine as to war, I am compelled to dissent" not less than he. I regard such ultra theories on that subject with complacency and with no disposition to contest or to treat them with levity. They seem to be, as I said to you in conversation, anchors cast to the windward, against the innate propensities of mankind; especially when acting together in a republic. Notwithstanding their strength and consistency, when times of pressure come they will be at least dragged, if not broken. They have the effect to postpone warlike tendencies when occasions bring them into action, and to check or limit their power when in actual exercise. "*Lex Naturae est,*" says Old Hobbes' *De Cive*, "*quaerendam esse pacem ubi haberi potest; ubi non potest, quaerenda esse belli auxilia,*" and I confess, I cannot perceive how it is possible for peace itself to be permanently maintained, without the right and the power of going to war.

[1] The journal died in 1846.

[2] (1772–1864.)

[3] Story's letter is in Story, *Life and Letters of Joseph Story*, II. 543.

However it was as little within my intent as mental competency to enter upon this great question. I admire your talent and I respect your sincerity and it is not through any disinclination to their success that I am not a convert to your doctrines. Truly and respectfully Your friend,

JOSIAH QUINCY.

FROM ALEXANDER HILL EVERETT.[1]

SUMMER STREET, November 22, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have just read your able and eloquent address. I admire the spirit of humanity and love by which it is pervaded, and if I do not entirely concur with you on the leading points of the doctrines I have no right to quarrel with you about them, inasmuch as the same train of thought was at an early period of my life, for several years in succession the predominant one in my own mind. *Un beau matin* I awoke and found, or thought, myself in the position of the butcher, who had been searching through the whole of his premises for a knife, which he held at the time in his mouth. I now consider the Union, not only as the nearest approach that has ever been made to a Congress of Nations, but as furnishing, for all practical purposes, a complete solution of the problem of Perpetual Peace. It does not seem to be important, or even desirable, that the system, which is substituted for war, should extend over the whole habitable globe, but only that it should prevail between neighboring nations, which, as such, have intimate relations with each other, and are, of course, in constant danger of coming into collision. Our Union already spreads itself over twenty-nine substantially independent states, and when it shall embrace, as in its quiet and regular development it naturally must, the whole continent of North-America, it will nearly preclude the possibility of war. Taken in connexion with the plan of referring to arbitration such differences as may occur with other parts of the world, it may be regarded as forming a nearly perfect system.

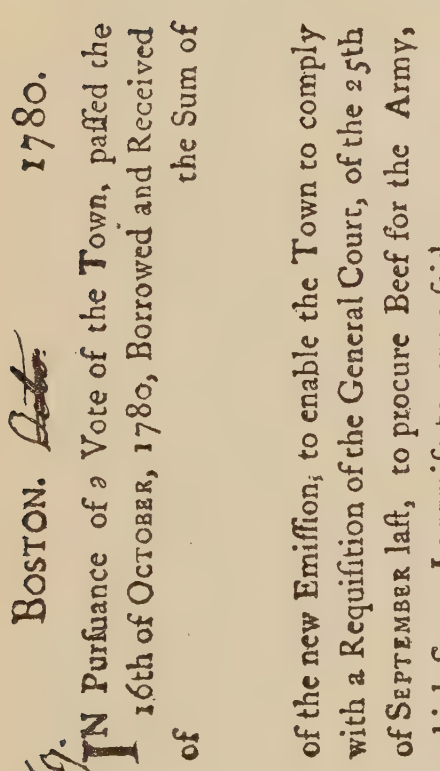
Since I took this view of it, I have set my mind at ease on the subject, and have declined signing any of the petitions to Congress, or the General Court, in regard to the establishment of a Congress of Nations. I am glad to see that you recognize, in the inter-leagues of neighboring states, and particularly our Union, an approach to the scheme of international polity, which you recommend. On farther reflexion I am inclined to think that you will consider our system as furnishing all the security for permanent peace that can well be desired.

[1] (1792–1847.)

Excuse the liberty I take in making these suggestions and believe me, dear Sir, very truly your friend,

A. H. EVERETT.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. BOWDITCH, THAYER, W. WARREN, STANWOOD, MINOT and BOLTON.



No. 89. BOSTON. Oct. 1780.

IN Purſuance of a Vote of the Town, paſſed the 16th of OCTOBER, 1780, Borrowed and Received of the Sum of

of the new Emiſſion, to enable the Town to comply with a Requiſition of the General Court, of the 25th of SEPTEMBER laſt, to procure Beef for the Army, which Sum. I promiſe to repay ſaid or Bearer in three Months from the above Date, with lawful Intereſt for the ſame till paid; the ſame ſo repaid, to be equal in Value to the Sum in the Judgment of the Committee appointed by the Town to determine the ſame.

Town Treaſurer.

MEMOIR

OF

CURTIS GUILD.

BY WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

CURTIS GUILD died at his home, 124 Marlborough Street, Boston, on April 6, 1915, after a brief attack of pneumonia. Son of Curtis and Sarah Crocker (Cobb) Guild, he was born February 2, 1860, in Boston, where his father then resided in South Street.[1] Having fitted for college at the Chauncy-Hall School he entered Harvard in the autumn of 1877, bringing with him a reputation for high scholarship and general intelligent ability, a reputation which he soon confirmed and extended. At graduation in 1881 he stood eleventh in a class of 194. But he was much more than a hard student. He early joined a squad for military drill which "General" Lister conducted at the Old Gymnasium, and he became one of the most efficient fencers in college. He served two years as an editor of the *Crimson* and was one of the revivers of the *Harvard Lampoon*. He ranked among the stars of the Hasty Pudding Club theatricals, was chosen Class Orator and delivered an oration on the Patriotic Duty of an American. He came out of college well developed in body, mind and character.

On leaving Harvard Guild spent several months in Europe sending letters on travel to his father's newspaper, *The Boston Commercial Bulletin*. When he returned, in February, 1882, he

[1] John Guild, the original immigrant, who settled in Dedham, Mass., about 1640, is supposed to have come from Scotland. Curtis Guild, the Governor's grandfather, graduated at Harvard in 1822 and died in 1849.

MHS

Curtis Guild, Jr.

joined the staff of the *Bulletin*, rising later to be its editor and sole proprietor. He began almost immediately to do service as a citizen, first as a member of the Republican Vigilance Committee in the campaign of 1883, when B. F. Butler was defeated, and then as a worker on ward committees, as a founder and leader of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, in the Citizens' Association of Boston and in the Civil Service League. Being a ready speaker, he had invitations from many States during the great campaigns, his most noteworthy tour being that of 1900, when he accompanied Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, through the West. He presided over the Massachusetts Republican Convention of 1895, and the following year he went as a delegate-at-large to the National Republican Convention (of which he was a vice-president) at St. Louis.

For twenty years Guild consistently refused offers of nomination to political office. But his turn came in 1902, when he was elected Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. In 1903 and 1904 he was reëlected in spite of the fact that W. L. Douglas, the Democratic candidate, was chosen Governor. For three years (1906–09) he himself served as Governor, and at the National Republican Convention of 1908 he received 75 votes for Vice-President. In 1910 President Taft appointed him special ambassador to represent the United States at the celebration of the centenary of the Republic of Mexico. For two years (1911–13), also by appointment of President Taft, he held the post of American Ambassador to Russia. On coming home he resumed the direction of the *Commercial Bulletin*, but not to the exclusion of much quasi-public activity. He was the first president of the commission to suggest plans for commemorating in 1920 the three-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. Having seen the American diplomatic service on the inside, he urged its reform. At different times he declined the offer of the first assistant postmaster-generalship and of the chairmanship of the national Civil Service Commission; he was "mentioned" more than once for a cabinet position and for nomination as United States Senator for Massachusetts. He remained through life a consistent Republican, but broke away earlier than most of the Republican politicians around him from "Stand-pattism" — an indication of independence

which the public commended, but which probably barred him from the senatorship.

From his youth up Guild took a keen interest in military concerns. In 1890 he joined Troop A, Mass. Volunteer Militia, popularly known as the Lancers. Governor Roger Wolcott appointed him to his staff as Inspector-General of Rifle Practice with the commission of Brigadier-General (1896). When the news came of the sinking of the *Maine* (February 15, 1898) Guild believed that war with Spain was inevitable. He resigned from the militia and was commissioned first lieutenant and adjutant-general of 6th Massachusetts Infantry, U. S. V. On the outbreak of the war, having been promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel and Inspector-General, he served in Cuba under General Fitzhugh Lee throughout the summer and autumn. He became Inspector-General of the Province of Havana, and in January, 1899, he declined a commission in the regular army and an appointment to the Insular Commission. In 1901 he also declined the election to command the Second Brigade, M. V. M.

A facile, and often forcible, writer Guild found time, outside of his regular editorial work and his many duties, to contribute frequently to the magazines and weeklies. He wrote a lively account of "Roosevelt at Harvard," which was printed in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* (December, 1901).

During Mr. Guild's three years' service as Governor much legislation was passed which was either suggested by him or carried through by his support. He was solicitous to curtail existing monopolies and to prevent the formation of new ones. He favored laws to put an end to gambling, prize fighting, bucket shops and loan sharks, and was especially interested in the protection of Italian immigrants from the sharpers of various kinds who preyed upon them. He favored legislation in behalf of women and children workers, and of the better sanitation and ventilation of factories and workshops. With his help many new institutions were organized, such as an excise board, a juvenile court and a police system for Boston; a board to control savings bank insurance; a hospital for feeble-minded; commissions on insurance laws, on old-age pensions, on commerce and industry, on metropolitan development and on laws relating to the insane. He threw his influence to secure cheaper

gas, cheaper electricity and cheaper telephone service. He made appointments without regard to creed or race. In general, it may be said that coming at a time when new issues in industries, in labor, and in physical and moral hygiene were pressing forward he gave to each attentive consideration.

A single instance illustrates Guild's lively sense of responsibility when he was Governor. In order to see how long it would take to walk from Riverside to the house in Weston where a degenerate named Tucker committed a shocking murder, Guild himself, unknown to the reporters, walked over the path Tucker had taken, and timed himself. Urged by a similar sense of duty, less than a month before his death he got up from a sick bed in order to speak in Faneuil Hall to protest against the passage of the Shipping Bill — and he never spoke more impressively. As a public speaker he was best when least oratorical, but he always succeeded in carrying his audiences; and on non-political subjects he spoke or lectured with ease. He had the indefinable quality which made him personally popular with large numbers of men and women, so that his death called forth such a demonstration of admiration and affectionate respect as had not been equalled in Boston since Governor W. E. Russell died in 1896.

Governor Guild's real service as Ambassador to Russia consisted in his successful propitiation of the dominant persons in court and official circles. He was popular among all classes, who were attracted by his frankness and bonhomie. During his term of service at Petrograd the treaty between the United States and Russia was denounced, and there can be little question but that the rupture would have resulted in more irritation had it not been for the personal esteem in which our Ambassador was held there. He had so impressed the Russians with the genuineness of American good-will that this impression survived even the breaking of the treaty.

In religion Guild was a Unitarian, a member of the Arlington Street Church, Boston (where his funeral was held), and a former President of the Unitarian Association. Italy conferred on him the decoration of Grand Officer of the Order of the Crown of Italy, and Russia the Grand Cordon of the Order of St. Alexander Nevski. He was a Free Mason and first commander of the Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-Ameri-

can War, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the Civil Service Reform Association, and President of the American Forestry Association. Among his social attachments were the Tavern, Puritan (of which he was President), Algonquin, Exchange, University, Harvard and Union clubs of Boston; the Brookline Country Club; the Middlesex and other political clubs; the Press Club and the Boston Chamber of Commerce. On June 1, 1892, he married in Boston, Charlotte Howe, daughter of Edward Crosby and Alice (Robbins) Johnson. Mrs. Guild survives him; they had no children.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the PRESIDENT and both Vice-Presidents, Mr. ARTHUR LORD was chosen to preside.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts and deposit:

From William Bradford Homer Dowse, a lithograph of Baron Richard Dowse, 1824–1890, "An Irish wit and Solicitor-General," published in *Vanity Fair;* also a photograph of a tablet in the chancel of St. Mary's Church, Broughton, England, giving the burial inscription of Sir Thomas Dowse, Esq., and Blanch Covert, erected in 1625 by Edmond Dowse, their son.

From Mr. Norcross, a photograph of the last horse-car in Boston, taken on Dartmouth Street, near the Old South Church.

From Daniel Bradford Badger, of Winchester, a medal of the Master Builders Association, incorporated in 1885, given to charter-members December 30, 1916.

From Dr. Green, a bronze medal struck to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of Hollis Hall, Cambridge, 1913.

A lock of Washington's hair given by Mrs. Washington to Mrs. R. C. Derby and by her presented on her deathbed to Dr. J. C. Warren, December, 1832. This is set in a silver case, and was bequeathed by Dr. Warren to Thomas Dwight in 1856. It is now deposited with the Society by the widow of Mr. Dwight's son, the late Dr. Thomas Dwight.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Lawrence Park, of Groton, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, an "accompt of what Freeman Taber lost on the 5th of September, 1778, by the British Troops" at Bristol. It also contains a list of losses by Dorothy Taber, his mother.

From William Bradford Homer Dowse a transcript of the deed executed by Thomas Dowse of Broughton, April 24, 1601, endowing there a school, which is still in existence. The donor of the Dowse library in this Society was a direct descendant of that Thomas Dowse. With this record are an account of the Dowse family and charts of connected families.

John Adams Aiken, of Greenfield, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, J. COLLINS WARREN, and WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Finance Committee: WINSLOW WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the financial year be retained in the treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Mr. WENDELL presented and introduced Commandant Paul Azan, head of the French Military Mission detailed for instruction at Harvard University, a great-grandson of Commandant Azam, who was an officer in Rochambeau's army at Yorktown, and suffered disabilities and wounds contracted in that service. In the course of his remarks a certificate of his ancestor's service was shown, signed by officers of the French revolutionary army, testifying to his republicanism and general good service, and specifying that his wounds were received in America. Mr. LORD in behalf of the Society welcomed the Commandant, who addressed the Society in French.

Colonel THOMAS L. LIVERMORE completed the reading of his paper on

McClellan.[1]

This review of General McClellan's conduct as a commander in the Civil War is written in the light of contemporaneous record evidence, some of which was published later than most of the works on the same subject, and some of which, for this or other reason, has not been given its true weight or significance.

In reaching conclusions the attempt is to pay due regard to McClellan's memoirs and letters which were published after his death in 1885 under the title *McClellan's Own Story*.

I.

April–December, 1861.

McClellan was appointed by the Governor of Ohio from civil life, April 23, 1861, major general in command of the Ohio troops called by the President for the suppression of the rebellion.

Four days later, McClellan in a letter to General Scott, commander-in-chief, asked leave to lay before him[2] "a plan of operations intended," he said, "to relieve the pressure upon Washington and tending to bring the war to a speedy close."

This plan, imparted, as it was, voluntarily and without any of the reserve which later may have been imposed upon McClellan by the responsibilities of high command, the distrust of unfriendly influence, real or fancied, or his own political ambitions, deserves attention in its disclosure of the author's

[1] Abbreviations used:

W. R. = *War of the Rebellion, Official Records, Union and Confederate Armies*, cited by serial numbers.

B. L. = *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. New York, The Century Company.

Civil War = *History of the Civil War in America*, by the Comte de Paris. English translation, Philadelphia, Porter & Coates.

C. W. = *Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War*, 37th Congress, 3d Session. Government Printing Office, 1863.

Own Story = *McClellan's Own Story*, 1887.

Swinton = *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*. By William Swinton.

Ropes = *The Story of the Civil War*. By John C. Ropes.

[2] 107 *W. R.*, 338.

imagination of strategic movements and results, bold and broad, but neglectful of practical limitations. The influence of this vein of imagination appears in some of his plans as commander-in-chief.

This letter of April 27 disclosed his plan as follows:

> The region north of the Ohio and between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies forms one grand strategic field, in which all the operations must be under the control of one head, whether acting offensively or on the defensive. I assume it as the final result that hostilities will break out on the line of the Ohio. For two reasons it is necessary to delay this result by all political means, for a certain time; First, to enable the Northwest to make the requisite preparations, now very incomplete; second, that a strong diversion may be made in aid of the defence of Washington and the eastern line of operations.

Then, after proposing to distribute at Cairo and along the Ohio River 16,000 men, to be raised in the Northwest with 80,000 more for an army of active operations, he continued:

> With the army of active operations it is proposed to cross the Ohio at or in the vicinity of Gallipolis and move up the valley of the Great Kanawha on Richmond. . . . The movement on Richmond should be conducted with the utmost promptness, and could not fail to relieve Washington as well as to secure the destruction of the Southern army if aided by a decided advance on the eastern line. . . . Another plan would be, in the event of Kentucky assuming a hostile position, to cross the Ohio at Cincinnati or Louisville, with 80,000 men, march straight on Nashville, and thence act according to circumstances. Were a battle gained before reaching Nashville, so that the strength of Kentucky and Tennessee were thoroughly broken, a movement on Montgomery, aided by a vigorous movement on the eastern line towards Charleston and Augusta, should not be delayed. The ulterior movement of the combined armies might be on Pensacola, Mobile and New Orleans.

His proposal here to draw an army from the Northwest for a march of three hundred miles or more upon Richmond, entirely disregarded the fact that from 7,000,000 people east of the Alleghanies an army as great as that he proposed could be assembled and armed quite as quickly, within three days of Washington by rail and water, as against the month or

more that would inevitably be consumed by a march from the Ohio to Richmond, even if unopposed and undelayed by bad weather and bad roads.

The project was fanciful, and must have found its attractiveness in the dramatic aspect of a rush from the West to save the nation's capital.

The proposed march from Tennessee to Montgomery would have lain through Alabama in a region of few roads and no navigable rivers and without a railway within a hundred miles on either side, to reach a city of 10,000 people, important only as the temporary seat of the Confederate government. McClellan must have been moved to propose it by the dramatic aspect of seizing a capital, or by the importance of it in classic precedent no longer applicable to a provincial city of no political or strategic importance.

It was a grave defect of the plan in practical detail to omit the use of the railways. By deflecting the march eastward to Chattanooga or Stevenson, the railway thence to Atlanta, and by deflecting it to Corinth, the railway thence to Mobile, would have been made available. Both these railways connected with others to all the objective points of the plan. As it was possible that before the proposed march to Montgomery should begin, a new Confederate army might assemble in Mississippi or Georgia, the plan exhibited the tendency to regard places rather than the enemy's armies as the objectives of campaigns, which appeared in other plans of McClellan's afterwards. McClellan wrote in his *Own Story* (p. 43) that in the letter under discussion or another to headquarters at about the same time he had suggested "a movement upon Nashville and thence, in combination with the Eastern army, upon Chattanooga, Atlanta, Montgomery, Savannah, etc., etc." The record [1] proves that this was an error of memory. The letters mention only Montgomery. Atlanta was not then of visible importance. It became so, long afterwards, when it was taken by the Confederates as a base of operations. After their loss of Memphis in June, 1862, the Confederates operated in Middle Tennessee and Kentucky from bases in Mississippi, and it was not until Bragg, in July, 1862, moved his army from that State by rail via Mobile, to Chattanooga, that Atlanta appeared as

[1] 107 *W. R.*, 333 and later pages.

a possible base in the future.[1] Neither part of McClellan's plan was adopted.

Scott on May 2 commented[2] on the proposal for moving to Nashville and beyond, as follows: "The General eschews water transportation by the Ohio and Mississippi in favor of long, tedious, and breakdown (of men, horses and wagons) marches. His plan is to subdue the seceded States by piecemeal, instead of enveloping them all (nearly) at once, by a cordon of posts on the Mississippi from its junction with the Ohio and by blockading ships of war on the seaboard." And on the next day he wrote[3] to McClellan:

> It is the design of the Government to raise 25,000 additional regular troops, and 60,000 volunteers for three years. . . . We greatly rely on the sure co-operation of a complete blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf ports, soon to commence. In connection with such a blockade we propose a powerful movement down the Mississippi to the ocean, with a cordon of posts at proper points, and the capture of Forts Jackson and Saint Phillip; the object being to clear out and keep open this great line of communication in connection with the strict blockade of the seaboard, so as to envelop the insurgent States and bring them to terms with less bloodshed than by any other plan. . . . This army, in which you may be invited to take an important part, should be composed of our best regulars for the advance, and of three years' volunteers, all well officered, and with four months and a half of instruction in camps prior to (say) November 10.

The events of the four years following this letter proved the breadth and soundness of its strategy, embracing, as it did, the coast blockade and the control of the Mississippi, which with the contest in Virginia and that south of the Ohio for the possession of the States between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River, were destined to be the four great operations of the Union forces decisive of the war. Partisan or amateur critics named Scott's plan "the Anaconda," in ridicule, as if its aim was to crush the Confederacy by constriction of, or from, its cordon of posts, against Scott's explicit statement that

[1] 10 *W. R.*, 385; 11 *W. R.*, 297; 22 *W. R.*, 1093; 23 *W. R.*, 731, 740, 749, 763, 784; 30 *W. R.*, 423, 432; 128 *W. R.*, 379, 380.

[2] 107 *W. R.*, 339.

[3] *Ib.*, 369.

the movement down the Mississippi was to "clear out and keep open this great line of communication," as well as to envelop nearly all the Confederacy by the cordon and blockade, whose purpose obviously was to cut off supplies coming from the region east of the Mississippi as well as foreign countries. The opening of the Mississippi was delayed, and from time to time interrupted, by the vigorous Confederate aggression in Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi, and defence of the river. It was effected from the Gulf to Baton Rouge in April, and from Cairo to Memphis in June, 1862. It was completed by the capture of Port Hudson and Vicksburg in July, 1863. From posts thus established on the river expeditions went far into the Confederacy, east and west; under Pope from Fort Pillow in May, 1862, to join Halleck's army at Corinth; under Grant from Vicksburg in November, 1863, to relieve Rosecrans' army beleaguered at Chattanooga; under Banks in June, 1864, up the Red River; and under Canby in March, 1865, from New Orleans to Mobile.

On May 13 McClellan was assigned to the command of the Department of Ohio, which included Western Virginia. Into this latter region McClellan, on Scott's prompting,[1] sent a force to aid the Unionists there. A portion of this force, under General Morris, on June 3 surprised and routed 800 Confederates at Philippi.[2] Arriving in Western Virginia on June 21, McClellan despatched J. D. Cox[3] with five regiments up the Great Kanawha valley, there to "remain on the defensive and endeavor to keep the rebels [3500, under Wise] near Charleston," until he (McClellan) could cut off their retreat by movement from Beverly (150 miles north). At the same time, sending 2300 forward from Philippi to confront and watch Garnett's command of 4345 posted in the pass over Laurel Mountain, he moved with a column numbering 6700 or more to the base of Rich Mountain (which extended southward from Laurel Moun-

[1] 2 *W. R.*, 642, 648. Scott's despatch of May 24, here cited, shows the error of Swinton's assumption (p. 35) that McClellan acted "without instructions from Washington." Subsequent despatches in the same volume disprove Swinton's statement that the campaign was undertaken by McClellan "of his own motion" and "without countenance from Washington." See pp. 642, 194, 195, 199, 200–211.

[2] *Ib.*, 65, 67.

[3] *Ib.*, 197, 200.

tain), and there halted about two miles from a force of 1300 under Pegram, found to be intrenched in the defile of the latter mountain.[1] He sent Rosecrans with 1900 men, on July 11, up Rich Mountain to pass around the flank of Pegram's force and attack it in rear, and held the rest of his command "to assault in front as soon as Rosecrans' musketry should indicate that he was immediately in their rear." Rosecrans' attack dislodged the enemy so that they retreated northward that night, leaving upwards of 219 killed, wounded and prisoners.[2] McClellan wrote of this battle in his report:[3] "I moved up all my available force to the front and remained in person just in rear of the advance pickets ready to assault when the indicated moment should arrive." Cox wrote:[4] "The noise of the engagement had been heard in McClellan's camp, and he formed his troops for attack; but the long continuance of the cannonade and some signs of exultation in Pegram's camp seem to have made him think Rosecrans had been repulsed. The failure to attack according to the plan has never been explained." It indicated either "the precise, methodical mind," which the Comte de Paris attributed to McClellan, or the indecision which less friendly writers allege to have been one of his characteristics.

Garnett immediately retreated northward, and in so doing lost his life at Carrick's Ford on July 13. On the same day Pegram, failing in the attempt to join Garnett, surrendered to McClellan with 593 of his force.[5]

McClellan's wisdom in selecting the point of attack was proved by his attaining the road between Garnett and Wise, and thus forcing the former's force to cross the Alleghanies to the east and preventing the joining of the two forces.

In a measure this palliated the exaggeration of McClellan's despatch of July 14 to the War Department, "We have annihilated the enemy in Western Virginia," qualified by his later message of the same day,[6] "I expect every day to hear that the

[1] 2 *W. R.*, 200, 208, 209, 237, 255, 292, 268. Strength of Union regiments reckoned at average, shown at p. 215; possibly too small. See 1 *B. L.*, 130.

[2] 2 *W. R.*, 205, 206, 215.

[3] *Ib.*, 206.

[4] 1 *B. L.*, 132.

[5] 2 *W. R.*, 266, 208.

[6] *Ib.*, 204, 205.

measures taken to drive Wise out of the Kanawha have proved successful," although he must have referred to measures contemplated but never taken as his instruction to Cox to remain on the defensive remained unchanged.[1] Two days later he announced to his small army,[2] "You have annihilated two armies." Doubtless, to this exaggeration and the novelty of victory as well as the political importance of holding Western Virginia, was due the acclaim which followed, greatly disproportionate to the numbers engaged and the losses inflicted upon the enemy. In the crisis following the defeat at Bull Run, July 21, this acclaim of McClellan had its part with his reputation for military learning and mental powers, in confirming the government's previous inclination to employ him in high command. He was called to Washington on July 22 and on his arrival was appointed to the command of the army there.[3] If all the facts of the battle of Rich Mountain had been known to the government, there might have been further search for a born leader of armies.

McClellan assumed command at Washington on July 27. The duty of retempering the army defeated at Bull Run, and posting it to resist any advance of the enemy from that field on the national capital, soon gave place to that of disbanding the three months' volunteers, of which it largely consisted, as their terms of service ended, and of organizing a new army of the three years' volunteers who were rapidly arriving at Washington. The Comte de Paris, who joined McClellan's staff in September, from a long and intimate acquaintance in that service, writes of him:[4] "His laborious character, his precise, methodical mind, and his vast military knowledge peculiarly fitted him for the ungrateful and difficult task which had fallen to his lot. He was the creator of the Army of the Potomac." None of his critics denies that during the first four months of his command he successfully performed a great work in organizing, training and equipping that army.

The Confederate army under Johnston after its victory at Bull Run, taking position between that field and Washington, soon extended its line to the Potomac below that city and began to hinder navigation by artillery fire from the right bank. The

[1] 1 *B. L.*, 140.
[2] 2 *W. R.*, 236.
[3] *Ib.*, 753, 763.
[4] 1 *Civil War*, 259–260.

attitude of this army in barring the way through Virginia and the establishment of the seat of the Confederate government at Richmond clearly indicated that Virginia was to rank with the Mississippi and the seacoast as a field of operations. It early took pre-eminent rank in McClellan's estimation, as appears in a plan of August 2,[1] for the conduct of the war, which he wrote on request of the President, made no doubt with a view to the appointment of a commander-in-chief in succession to Scott, whose physical infirmities were heavy.

In this plan is found a key to much in McClellan's conduct which was not consistent with sound strategy. It opens with the following passage:

> The object of the present war differs from those in which nations are engaged, mainly in this: that the purpose of ordinary war is to conquer a peace, and make a treaty on advantageous terms. In this contest it has become necessary to crush a population sufficiently numerous, intelligent and warlike to constitute a nation. We have not only to defeat their armed and organized forces in the field, but to display such an overwhelming strength as will convince all our antagonists, especially those of the governing, aristocratic class, of the utter impossibility of resistance. Our late reverses make this course imperative. Had we been successful in the recent battle (Manassas) it is possible that we might have been spared the labor and expenses of a great effort.
>
> Now we have no alternative. Their success will enable the political leaders of the rebels to convince the mass of their people that we are inferior to them in force and courage, and to command all their resources. The contest began with a class; now it is with a people. Our military success alone can restore the former issue.
>
> By thoroughly defeating their armies, taking their strong places, and pursuing a rigidly protective policy as to private property and unarmed persons, and a lenient course as to private soldiers, we may well hope for a permanent restoration of a peaceful union. But in the first instance the authority of the government must be supported by overwhelming physical force.

Neither the antithesis here drawn by McClellan between the war in hand and ordinary wars nor its bearing is quite clear, but the meaning of what follows is deduced to be that the

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 6. The plan was erroneously dated August 4. See p. 101 of *McClellan's Own Story*.

Union armies first sent forward against the enemy should be not only of strength sufficient to defeat thoroughly the Confederate armies then in the field, but also of such additional strength as should be necessary to convince the Southern people by its display that further resistance would be hopeless, and thus persuade them to peace and Union.

In this project for abridging the war by persuasion first appeared the hope of filling the rôle of peacemaker which afterwards enfeebled McClellan's resolution, or retarded his action against the enemy.

Coming to specific measures, the memorandum continues: "The rebels have chosen Virginia as their battlefield, and it seems proper for us to make the first great struggle there." The assumption that they had chosen no other field was not warranted, for as against 30,000 [1] Confederate troops in Virginia, there were, to say nothing of their force in Missouri, about 26,000 [2] in Tennessee — the nucleus of the formidable army which fought for Kentucky and the States south of it for more than three years. In this illusion McClellan proceeded in the memorandum to recommend an army of 273,000 for Virginia, and 68,000 in other fields, besides the local troops of Kentucky, Tennessee and Western Virginia for those States, respectively, and such troops as should be fixed for the Mississippi River expedition by the President and its commander.

With the main army he proposed, "not only to drive the enemy out of Virginia and occupy Richmond, but to occupy Charleston, Savannah, Montgomery, Pensacola, Mobile and New Orleans," operating also along the seacoast with a detachment, in a flotilla, to divert troops from the main Confederate army, and occupy posts seeming desirable.

The only other operations specified were the occupation of Eastern Tennessee in aid of the Unionists there, already planned by the government, and seizing the railroads there to prevent the Confederates from carrying over them re-enforcements from the Mississippi valley to Virginia,[3] which they never in-

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 824, 884.

[2] 4 *W. R.*, 362, 363, 365, 372, 377.

[3] In September or early in October the President wrote his wish that the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad should be seized and held, and that troops raised west of the Alleghanies should be used there, and those raised east of the Alleghanies should be appropriated to McClellan and the coast. 109 *W. R.*, 192.

tended. There was no hint of a contest between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River.

McClellan in his *Own Story* (p. 105), written twenty years after the memorandum, said of the latter:

> I still hold to the soundness of the views it expressed. Had the measures recommended been carried into effect the war would have been closed in less than one half the time, and with infinite saving of blood and treasure. So far as I know, it was the first general plan of operations proposed upon a scale adequate to the case. It recognized the importance of railways as a new element in strategy; it emphasized the vital importance of the railway system leading from Memphis to the East; it marked out the advantages to be derived from coast expeditions; it stated the part to be played upon the Mississippi; it foreshadowed the marches upon Atlanta and the seaboard; it called for a force which the future proved to be fully within our means, and which would have crushed the rebellion in one or two campaigns.

In a later passage he wrote,[1] of the time when he succeeded Scott as commander-in-chief: "I supposed that some general plan of operations existed, but now learned that there were none such." In these passages he ignored Scott's letter to himself of May 3, which had imparted the plans for moving down the Mississippi and for the naval blockade, as well as preparations already made for the contest in Virginia. By no obvious reasoning can the plan of the memorandum to move the main army through Virginia, and thence, whether by land or sea, to Charleston and the cities south and southwest of it, be held to have foreshadowed the march to Atlanta upon the expulsion of the Confederates from Tennessee, and their consequent retreat upon that city. Not until long after the memorandum was written did McClellan see that the Confederate invasion of Kentucky was the beginning of a resolute effort to possess that State, and it was later yet, in the struggle for the Mississippi valley east of the river that the importance of Atlanta appeared.

Before the date of the memorandum Johnston had demonstrated the strategic use of railways in bringing his troops to the field of Bull Run in time to turn defeat into victory there.

The army called for by McClellan would not have sufficed

[1] Page 200.

to crush the Confederate armies beyond Virginia. An army large enough for all fields raised in 1861 would have shortened the war if fortune had revealed soon enough a commander able to direct it; but the end must have been delayed as long as the Confederates enlarged their armies proportionately, and if the field west of the Alleghanies in 1861 had been robbed of its troops to re-enforce the Union army in Virginia, as McClellan recommended, the Confederates would have got a footing in Kentucky and Tennessee of serious peril to the Union.

The Confederates on the lower Potomac intrenched their artillery at points on the right bank for five miles down from Freestone Point. The fire of this artillery, though inflicting little damage, so much increased the menace to passing vessels that by the end of October regular voyages to Washington had ceased.[1]

Although railway communication was adequate, yet obstruction of the approach to the capital by the Potomac was much resented by the people, and the government was impatient to have the army end it. But McClellan judged it inexpedient to move any part of his army against the batteries on the river, because he thought it would bring on a general engagement for which his army was not yet fit.[2] His judgment on the latter point was sustained by later experience, which proved that six months' service was necessary to fit volunteers for battle.[3]

The President's anxiety for early action by the army led him at last to request of McClellan a paper "upon the condition of his forces and the immediate measures to be taken to increase their efficiency." McClellan complied, near the latter part of October, with a letter,[4] in which, premising "So much time has passed and the winter is approaching so rapidly that but two courses are left to the government, viz., either to go into winter quarters, or to assume the offensive with forces greatly inferior in numbers to the army I regarded as

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 557, 625, 634, 645, 648, 652, 663, 801, 963; 5 *Navy War Records.*

[2] 5 *W. R.*, 9, 47, 608.

[3] See list of regiments, *Ib.*, 15 *et seq.*; and Dyer's *Compendium*, 1006 *et seq.*

[4] 5 *W. R.*, 9. A letter of November in his *Own Story* (p. 176) may prove that it was not finished in October.

desirable and necessary," he reiterated his estimate of the paramount importance of the field in Virginia in stating his regret "that it has not been deemed expedient, or perhaps possible, to concentrate the forces of the nation in this vicinity (remaining on the defensive elsewhere), keeping the attention and efforts of the government fixed upon this as the vital point"; recommending the transfer from other armies of "the superfluous strength not required for the purpose in view, and, thus re-enforcing this main army, whose destiny it is to decide the controversy," to enable it "to move with a reasonable prospect of success before the winter is fairly upon us," and expressing his feeling "that the Army of the Potomac holds the fate of the country in its hands." He then stated 150,000 as the number which "spies, prisoners, etc.," give to the enemy on the Potomac,[1] and continued: "It is plain, therefore, that to insure success, or to render it reasonably certain, the active army should not number less than 150,000 efficient troops, with 400 guns, unless some material change occurs in front of us," and stated that of his "present for duty," after deducting the troops at Baltimore, Annapolis and guarding the Potomac, and those partly equipped and armed, there remained only 76,285 disposable for an advance, and recommended that the surplus troops should be brought from other armies,[2] that the organization of new regiments and batteries be hastened, that regular troops be sent to him, and "that no further outside expeditions be attempted until we have fought the great battle in front of us," and expressed the opinion that "a vigorous employment of all these means" would enable his army successfully to assume the offensive operations he had desired "to prepare for and prosecute," and that "the advance should not be postponed beyond the 25th of November if possible to avoid it." The government did not fall in with the proposal to re-enforce the Army of the Potomac at the expense of the Western armies,[3] but, probably encouraged by McClellan's intimation that he believed that numbers equal to Johnston's would insure or make reasonably certain the suc-

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 9. In fact they had 47,550 on October 15. *Ib.*, 932, 933. See also *Ib.*, 588; 14 *W. R.*, 3.

[2] The President directed, October 31, that only troops from east of the Alleghanies should be appropriated to McClellan. 109 *W. R.*, 192.

[3] 102 *W. R.*, 192.

cess of the Army of the Potomac in an advance against the former, and by his declaration that it ought to advance for battle within the next month, appointed him, on November 1,[1] to succeed Scott in command of all the armies, in assuming which McClellan retained to himself the immediate command of the Army of the Potomac.

It is not surprising to find that, believing that Virginia was to be the field of battle paramount to all others, McClellan, on assuming his larger command, instructed Halleck and Buell, in assigning them to command in Missouri and Kentucky respectively, that he required no offensive movement except the advance of the latter's force to occupy Western Tennessee and its railroads.[2]

There is ample evidence in the records that the three generals were much occupied to the end of December, each in the necessary work of organizing, arming, equipping and training the troops under his immediate command.[3] But at the end of November there were quite enough well-trained soldiers at or within call of Washington to dislodge the enemy from the lower Potomac, and, if skilfully and boldly handled, to have beaten Johnston's army if it had thus been drawn into general battle, or if by a resolute advance its extended line had been turned or flanked.

Johnston, then, had less than 50,000 men, and they were distributed on a line of 50 miles from Leesburg on the north, to the lower Potomac on the south, the main body being within 15 miles of McClellan's line.[4] McClellan had 140,000 men available for an advance from Washington, and among them 54,000 in 74 regiments[5] whose six months' training had well fitted them for close engagement. If the whole force had been deployed, and the 74 regiments had gone forward swiftly, it is highly improbable that in that event Johnston would have hazarded any part of his army across the upper Potomac to advance towards Baltimore or Washington, as McClellan had feared.[6]

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 35.
[2] *Ib.*, 37, 38.
[3] *Ib.*, 12, 35; 7 *W. R.*, 419, 437, 443, 457, 482; 8 *W. R.*, 382, 389, 408, 419, 437, 457, 482.
[4] 5 *W. R.*, 974, 985, 626, 678; *W. R. Atlas*, Plates I–VII, 89–1.
[5] 5 *W. R.*, 10, 12, 15, 19; Dyer's *Compendium*, 1006 *et seq.*
[6] 5 *W. R.*, 588, 589.

But it appears that McClellan had determined to long postpone any offensive movement from Washington. On November 29 he wrote Buell:[1] "Inform me some little time before you move so that we may move simultaneously. I have also other heavy blows to strike at the same time. I doubt whether all the movements can be arranged so that the grand blows shall be struck in less than a month or six weeks from the present time. Should I be delayed, I will not ask you to wait for me."[2]

The only other operation then in preparation by McClellan was that of Burnside's division, then designated for the descent on the coast of North Carolina, for which it sailed on January 9, 1862, numbering 12,000 men.[3]

It was expected that Burnside's seizure of ports and railways would interrupt supplies and men for Virginia, and incidentally divert troops from the Confederate army there; but it is not credible that McClellan intended to delay movement of the Army of the Potomac for blows which Burnside's 12,000 men could deliver.

McClellan wrote in his *Own Story*, p. 199:

> It certainly was not until late in Nov. 1861, that the Army of the Potomac was in any condition to move, nor even then were they capable of assaulting intrenched positions. By that time the roads had ceased to be practicable for the movement of armies, and the experience of subsequent years proved that no large operations could be advantageously conducted in that region during the winter season. Any success gained at that time in front of Washington could not have been followed up, and a victory would have given us the barren possession of the field of battle with a longer and more difficult line of supply during the rest of the winter. If the Army of the Potomac had been in condition to move before winter, such an operation would not have accorded with the general plan I had determined upon after succeeding General Scott as general-in-chief of the army (p. 202). . . . I determined to expedite the preparations of the Western armies as much as possible during the winter, and, as early as practicable, in the spring throw them forward;

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 457.

[2] *Ib.*, 458. Apparently reference here is to a movement on Nashville which Buell had proposed. McClellan in this letter wrote of protecting the Union men of Eastern Tennessee, "First secure that" and afterwards urged immediate movement there. See *Ib.*, 451, 468, 473, 926.

[3] 5 *W. R.*, 35, 36; 9 *W. R.*, 355, 356; 36 *W. R.*, 333, 334.

commencing their advance so much earlier than that of the Army of the Potomac as to engage all the Confederate Western forces on their own ground, and thus prevent them from reinforcing their army in front of Richmond. As early as the beginning of December, 1861, I had determined not to follow the line of operations leading by land from Washington to Richmond, but to conduct a sufficient force by water to Urbana [on the Rappahannock], and thence by a rapid march to West Point, hoping thus to cut off the garrison of Yorktown, and all the Confederates in the Peninsula; then, using the James River as a line of supply, to move the entire Army of the Potomac across that river to the rear of Richmond.

In pursuance of this plan I did not propose disturbing the Confederate forces at Manassas and Centreville, but, while steadily pushing forward the fortifications of Washington, and the instruction and organization of the Army of the Potomac, I desired to hold them there to the last moment, and especially until the Urbana movement was well in process of execution. . . .

Early in December this plan was so far matured that, finding Secretary Chase seriously troubled in his financial operations by the uncertainty as to military operations, I went one day to his private office in the Treasury building and of my own volition, confidentially laid my plans before him.

On or about December first, Chief Engineer Barnard made for McClellan a memorandum of a plan for shifting the theatre of operations by transporting the Army of the Potomac by water from Annapolis and Port Tobacco on the Potomac to Urbana, doubtless with a view to the new line of operations McClellan was then considering.[1]

It was not necessary to assault intrenchments in bringing Johnston to battle in rear of the line held by his army in December. A plan had been outlined in October by Heintzelman [2] for threatening the line north of Bull Run with a part of the Union force lying south of the Potomac, and at the same time advancing the left of that force to the Occoquan River to join a force crossing the lower Potomac and landing below the Occoquan, and, with it, advancing up the south side of that stream to seize the railroad near Brentsville. The President, probably knowing of this plan, and doubtless stirred by the passing of November 25 without the advance against Johnston, the hope of which had been raised by McClellan's October

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 671. [2] *Ib.*, 622.

letter, left with him about December 1 a memorandum suggesting substantially the same plan, with these questions, "Without waiting further increase of numbers or better drill and discipline, how long would it require to actually get in motion, and how many troops could join in the movement?"

McClellan replied [1] on December 10, to the first question, if bridge trains ready, by December 15, probably 25; and to the second, 71,000 from south, and 33,000 from north of the Potomac, and added: "Information recently received leads me to believe that the enemy could meet us in front with equal forces nearly, and I have now my mind actively turned toward another plan of campaign, that I do not think at all anticipated by the enemy, nor by many of our own people." [2]

There is no reason to doubt that he here referred to the plan above mentioned for moving by Urbana. The reason given by McClellan for delaying the movement of the Army of the Potomac for action by the Western armies was not well founded, for the Confederates neither had nor simulated intention to re-enforce their army in Virginia from their Western troops. On the contrary the location and attitude of their army, between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, indicated the use of it there to occupy and hold that region. In the absence of evidence to sustain McClellan's opinion on this subject, the inference is that he was moved by the preconception stated and restated by him in August and October as above, that the Confederates had determined to make Virginia the field on which the war should be decided.

In his report of August 3, 1863,[3] McClellan, writing that it was his intention that the various parts of his plan for the operations of all the armies "should be carried out simultaneously, or nearly so, and in co-operation along the whole line," added: "If this plan was wise, and events have failed to prove that it was not, then it is unnecessary to defend any delay which

[1] 14 *W. R.*, 6.

[2] *Ib.* McClellan wrote in his letter of October 6 to his wife: "I do not expect to fight a battle near Washington. Probably none will be fought until I advance. . . . I will advance and force the rebels to battle in a field of my own selection." A recent writer argues that this refers to the movement by Urbana, but the evidence above, McClellan's letter of February 3, his *Own Story* (202, 203, 229) and his report (5 *W. R.*, 8, 41, 43, 45) do not admit of this conclusion. See Campbell, *McClellan*, 80.

[3] 5 *W. R.*, 41.

would have enabled the Army of the Potomac to perform its share of the whole work," but he did not point out what part of the delay he so referred to, or make mention of bad roads or the condition of the army in December as a reason for delay.

Neither weather unfavorable for a campaign nor bad roads arrived during December. McClellan's memory to the contrary, twenty years later, as above quoted, was at fault. This is proved beyond a doubt by the contemporaneous testimony of half a score of his officers, including his chief engineer and five of his division commanders.[1] The avowal, above quoted, of his decision in the first part of December or earlier to take the Urbana route, and that any movement of the Army of the Potomac before winter arrived would not have accorded with his general plan, rebuts any inference that weather or roads prevented movement in December against Johnston's army where it lay.

It is implied in McClellan's reply to the President of December 10, that, in the belief that Johnston's numbers were equal, or nearly equal, to his own, he was contemplating the movement by Urbana to gain an advantage in position which would compensate for the supposed inadequacy of his numbers. Probably he thought they would not be enlarged to 240,000 assumed in his October letter[2] to be needed, inasmuch as he had received only 198,000[3] of the total 640,000 volunteers, and the Secretary of War had decided to allow the number to fall to 500,000 to conform to the will of Congress as expressed in its appropriation for only the latter number.[4]

During December Johnston's army numbered from 52,000 to 62,000 effectives,[5] and McClellan's 169,000 to 191,000,[6] including at least 54,000 fit for battle as above stated.[7]

The President's plan for marching 15 miles, around John-

[1] Generals Heintzelman, Franklin, McDowell, Porter, Blenker, Richardson and Smith, and Colonel Champlin, December 24 to January 6, 1862; General Barnard, February 25, 1862. 1 *C. W.*, 116, 118, 123, 132, 150, 171, 187, 193, 215, 389.

[2] 5 *W. R.*, 10. [3] *Ib.*, 12; 122 *W. R.*, 699.

[4] *Ib.*, 699, 700. Congress had authorized 542,034 under the proclamation of May 3 and act of July 22 and 500,000 under act of July 25 to serve "during the war." The report of the Secretary of War seems to treat the latter as ineffective, perhaps because none had enlisted for the term of service it fixed. *Ib.*, 146, 381, 383, 403; 125 *W. R.*, 1264.

[5] 5 *W. R.*, 974, 1015.

[6] *Ib.*, 12, 15, 19. [7] Dyer's *Compendium*, 1006 *et seq.*

ston's right flank, to bring him to battle for the railroad, near Brentsville, was sound in strategy.[1] Instead of this McClellan planned a wide movement by land and water, of a hundred miles or more, around that flank for objects of doubtful achievement or vague design. The first object, as disclosed in his *Own Story*, was to cut off Magruder's command on the Peninsula, numbering between 13,000 and 16,000, and stationed on the Warwick River, 25 to 40 miles from West Point, who, during McClellan's day's march from Urbana, could pass beyond that place on the way to Richmond, or cross the James if they chose not to stand in their works at Yorktown.[2] How McClellan then expected to prevail by crossing the James as his second object is not disclosed, unless he, as proposed in his letter of February 3, 1862[3] (as an alternative if he failed in his projects east of the river), intended to thus reach a position "in rear of Richmond, thus forcing the enemy to come out and attack us, for his position would be untenable, with us on the southern bank of the river." But this would have come true only after the capture of the railways needed to supply Richmond, which in 1864 required eight months after Grant crossed the James. Whether McClellan would have effected this in a shorter time in 1862 may be questioned.[4] The attempt to reach the James would have exposed his army on its march of 40 miles or more from West Point to the hazard and delay of possible attacks on its flank by Johnston, and its crossing of the river probably would have been opposed by forces on its flank and intrenched across its path. It would have been an operation requiring great skill and intelligence in commanders of all ranks and great steadiness in the men.

Without testing Johnston's strength by the common reconnaissance in force, McClellan did not conform to good military practice in refusing to try for victory over Johnston behind Manassas by the President's plan, upon the assumption that Johnston's numbers were nearly equal to his own. It was especially unwise to defer action until under the stigma of suf-

[1] See 1 *C. W.*, 140, 141, 142, 389.

[2] *Own Story*, 227; 4 *W. R.*, 716; *W. R. Atlas*, Plate XVII.

[3] 5 *W. R.*, 45.

[4] In fact he twice neglected the opportunity to cross the James — in May and July, 1862.

fering hostile obstruction of the approach to the capital, and when there was great need of victory to brace the government and the people for the long struggle ahead.

In thus acting, McClellan's reliance upon a plan so inadequate as his must have rested upon something beyond mere strategic rules.

That he sincerely believed that he had been chosen as the Divine instrument to end the war, and that God was directing all his movements, was the conclusion reached in an article [1] by General James B. Fry, who was a fellow cadet with him at West Point, had served with him in the Mexican war, and on the staff of McDowell,[2] was in touch with his staff in the period under discussion. Tradition to the same effect lingers among army officers, and passages in his private letters in his *Own Story* clearly indicate the correctness of this theory. That these passages were not written merely in reverent acknowledgment of a Providence ruling over all men is seen in the following extract from an intimate letter of McClellan to Burnside, dated May 21, 1862, which strayed into the official files:[3]

> I pray God's blessing on our arms, and rely far more on his goodness than I do on my own intellect. I sometimes think now that I can almost realize that Mahomet was sincere. When I see the hand of God guarding one so weak as myself, I can almost think myself a chosen instrument to carry out his schemes. Would that a better man had been selected.

It is more than conceivable that a commander, impelled by faith like this might, in disregard of military precept, be led to refuse the chance of present victory by the vision of one in a remote field great enough to realize the dream of ending the war and restoring the Union in peace without further bloodshed.

His adoption of the Urbana plan was a fateful crisis. It marked the beginning of a long series of harmful delays, neglected opportunities, and feeble aggressions, which may be attributed to the influence of mysticism and the dream of the peacemaker.

[1] "McClellan and his Mission," *The Century*, October, 1894.
[2] 5 *W. R.*, 626. [3] 9 *W. R.*, 392.

II.

DECEMBER, 1861–MARCH, 1862.

In assigning Buell and Halleck, on November 7 and 11 respectively, to the command of the departments of the Ohio and the Missouri, McClellan apportioned to the former all of Kentucky east of the Cumberland River, and to the latter all west of that river. He instructed both to rest on the defensive, excepting his direction to Buell to "throw the mass of your forces by rapid marches, by Cumberland Gap or Walker's Gap, on Knoxville in order to occupy the railroad at that point, and thus enable the loyal citizens of Eastern Tennessee to rise, while you at the same time cut off the railway communication between Eastern Virginia and the Mississippi." [1]

The necessary preparation of their troops delayed aggressive action by these commanders through November and December. The Confederates, advancing northward from Tennessee, by the end of December, about 60,000 strong, were posted, contiguous to Halleck's department in Kentucky, at Columbus on the Mississippi, Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson and Clarksville on the Cumberland; and in Buell's department at Bowling Green, and Mill Spring up the latter river, facing northward along a line of about three hundred miles. Opposed were Grant's command of about 12,000, in Halleck's department, at Cairo, and Buell's command of 57,000 in Kentucky, facing the enemy, on Green River and thence on a line to the eastward, through Lebanon, Columbia and Somerset.

On November 27 Buell, having assembled troops under Thomas at Lebanon with a view to its convenience as a point of departure for both Eastern Tennessee and Nashville, suggested to McClellan that later circumstances might make a movement on the latter city preferable.[2] On November 29 McClellan replied, in the letter above cited, directing Buell to secure Eastern Tennessee first, and thereafter he invariably

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 36. The former object had had the attention of the government since the middle of July, 109 *W. R.*, 176, 177, 178, 4 *W. R.*, 252 *et seq.*, and the latter suggested in McClellan's memorandum of August had been adopted by the President in September or October. 5 *W. R.*, 7; 109 *W. R.*, 192.

[2] 7 *W. R.*, 450.

pressed this.[1] Buell, never losing his preference for the movement on Nashville,[2] continued the preparation for despatching Thomas's command to suit either plan[3] until December 29, when, probably impelled by McClellan's despatch of that date,[4] he ordered Thomas forward against Zollicoffer, who had crossed from Mill Spring to the north side of the Cumberland on the route from Knoxville.[5] At that time McClellan was confined to his house by an illness which, although thought to be serious, admitted of his transacting official business daily during its course.[6]

The President, obviously unaware of McClellan's despatch of December 29, telegraphed Halleck two days later: "General McClellan is sick. Are General Buell and yourself in concert? When he moves on Bowling Green what hinders it being reenforced from Columbus? A simultaneous movement by you on Columbus might prevent it"; and the same to Buell.[7] Both generals replied, on January 1, that no concert had been arranged between them.[8] This and the ensuing correspondence, although manifesting that neither believed his army was ready for serious action,[9] resulted, on January 6, in Halleck's telegraphing Grant that he wished him, with troops from Cairo and Paducah, to make a demonstration in force toward Mayfield, Murray and Dover, as if for Nashville, to prevent the despatch of Confederates from Columbus to Bowling Green.[10]

In reply to the President's question, "Have any arms gone forward for East Tennessee?" Buell, on January 5, telegraphed that arms could "only go forward under the protection of an army," for the movement of which his "transportation and other preparations" were "still incomplete," and that

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 457, 468, 473, 926, 531, 547.
[2] *Ib.*, 488, 521, 528, 530, 536, 548.
[3] *Ib.*, 487, 511, 512, 520, 521.
[4] *Ib.*, 926.
[5] *Ib.*, 78, 797.
[6] 107 *W. R.*, 515; 5 *W. R.*, 36, 697; 7 *W. R.*, 527, 531; *Own Story*, 155; *Swinton*, 80.
[7] 7 *W. R.*, 524. The President's intention was that the movement on Bowling Green should be subordinate to the invasion of Eastern Tennessee. See 7 *W. R.*, 927, 928.
[8] *Ib.*, 526.
[9] *Ib.*, 526–528, 530, 532, 533, 535, 540, 543, 547, 548.
[10] *Ib.*, 533.

it was opposed to his judgment "if it should render at all doubtful the success of a movement against the great power of the rebellion in the West . . . mainly arrayed on the line from Columbus to Bowling Green."[1] The President telegraphed in reply, January 6: "Your despatch . . . disappoints and distresses me. I have shown it to General McClellan, who says he will write you today. . . . Of the two, I would rather have a point on the railroad south of Cumberland Gap than Nashville," etc.[2]

At this date there was no movement by any of the Union armies under way, and, other than the invasion of Eastern Tennessee, McClellan had not announced a plan for any movement. On January 7 his letter of instructions to Burnside[3] defined the objects of the movement of his division to North Carolina (which the government had determined to substitute for operations by flotilla in the inlets of Chesapeake Bay and the Potomac), to be the seizure of Roanoke Island, Beaufort and New Berne, with the railroad from Beaufort to Goldsborough and Raleigh, and destruction of the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad passing through that city.

General McClellan having ceased to receive the President, the latter, in great distress from this and the bad state of affairs military and civil, then, on January 10, took counsel with Generals McDowell and Franklin on the possibility of soon commencing operations with the Army of the Potomac, at a conference attended by several members of the cabinet, and again on the 11th, when Secretary Chase disclosed what McClellan had told him of his plan for moving on Richmond by Urbana.[4] On the same day, Halleck, who on the 10th had telegraphed Buell, "Fix the day when you wish for a demonstration," and had halted Grant, telegraphed the latter, "I can hear nothing from Buell, so fix your own time for the advance."[5]

Thomas, detained by bad roads and lack of wagons, had halted at Columbia. Leaving there on January 11, he reached Logan's Cross Roads, 10 miles from the enemy, on the seventeenth.[6]

On January 12 McClellan heard of the President's confer-

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 530.
[2] *Ib.*, 927, 928.
[3] 5 *W. R.*, 36.
[4] *Swinton*, 80–82.
[5] 7 *W. R.*, 543, 544.
[6] *Ib.*, 926, 550, 79.

ence,[1] and telegraphed Buell, "How are your transportation preparations progressing?" and, receiving his reply, wrote him to hire or if necessary seize sufficient private teams,[2] and then called on the President, who asked him to attend the conference on the next day, which doing, he there said, in answer to the question what he intended doing with his army and when he intended doing it, that "the movement in Kentucky was to precede any one from this place [Washington], and that that movement might now be *forced;* that he had directed General Buell, if he could not hire wagons for his transportation, he must take them. After another pause he said that he must say he was very unwilling to develop his plans, always believing that in military matters the fewer persons who were knowing to them the better; that he would tell them if ordered to do so. The President then asked him if he counted upon any particular time; he did not ask what that time was, but had he in his own mind any particular time fixed when a movement could be commenced? He replied he had. Then rejoined the President, 'I will adjourn this meeting.'"[3]

The coincidence of Halleck's release of Grant and the movements in Kentucky with the President's conference suggests the origin of the former in tidings of the latter. The results of the movements were encouraging. The Confederate General Crittenden, on news of Thomas being at Logan's Cross Roads, more enterprising than the latter, who had halted to await some of his troops retarded by heavy roads, ordered his force forward to the attack[4] on the night of January 18, which, making a march of 10 miles, attacked Thomas where he lay on the morning of the 19th, and, being defeated, fell back across the Cumberland pursued by Thomas. The Confederate loss was 349, including General Zollicoffer, from about 6000; to the Union loss of 194 from about 4000 in eight regiments and a fraction on each side. On the next day the Confederates retreated southward for Tennessee. Buell, in transmitting to McClellan the news of the victory, gave warning that the difficulty of hauling supplies over the heavy roads, was almost insurmountable.[5]

[1] *Own Story*, 155.
[2] 7 *W. R.*, 546, 547.
[3] *Own Story*, 158; *Swinton*, 85.
[4] 7 *W. R.*, 79–82, 103.
[5] *Ib.*, 103–108, 76, 79–82, 88, 95, 96–111.

In Grant's reconnaissance from the 13th to the 20th of January the infantry of one column marched 75 miles and his cavalry 140 miles, and the other column from the 21st to the 24th of January marched 40 miles. The accompanying gunboat shelled Fort Henry, and General C. F. Smith from her deck reconnoitred the fort with notable consequences, as related below. These movements so much alarmed the enemy as to induce calls for re-enforcing Columbus, Nashville and Fort Henry.[1]

Soon after Stanton's assumption of the office of Secretary of War on January 15,[2] he urged upon McClellan action to clear the Confederates from the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the lower Potomac. McClellan then had correspondence with Banks, Lander and Hooker upon these subjects, but without result.[3] On January 27 the President issued his General War Order, No. 1[4] as follows:

Ordered. That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces. That especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe; the Army of the Potomac; the Army of Western Virginia; the army near Munfordville, Kentucky; the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico be ready to move on that day.

That other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

That the heads of Departments and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order.

It perhaps was not by mere coincidence that the President made this effort to overcome the lethargy which then seemed to suspend action in every field except the limited one of Grant's reconnaissance; for on that same day Buell, who on January

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 72–74, 561, 831, 835, 836, 838, 839. It is possible that Confederate troops were detained at these points which otherwise might have re-enforced Zollicoffer, but Crittenden seems to have attacked at Logan's Cross Roads in the belief that this was not needed. 7 *W. R.*, 103, 105, 106, 830, 838. See Grant's *Memoirs*, I. 286.

[2] 122 *W. R.*, 964; 5 *W. R.*, 41.

[3] *Ib.*, 702–711.

[4] *Ib.*, 41.

22 [1] had repeated to McClellan Thomas's message — "The rout of the enemy was complete. . . . They then threw away their arms and dispersed through the mountain by-ways in direction of Monticello, but are so completely demoralized that I don't believe they will make a stand short of Tennessee" — which may have well encouraged the President to hope for the immediate invasion of Eastern Tennessee, again telegraphed [2] "that with the available transportation and almost impassable condition of the roads" it had "been barely possible" to keep Thomas's force from starving, and that any advance of it was impossible. The President may well have regarded this as the end of all hope for the early occupation of Eastern Tennessee.

The Comte de Paris writes [3] that the President's order above quoted "will ever be regarded as one of the strangest monuments of that epoch," and that it "directs" all the forces "to attack the enemy on the same day." But in terms it directs only that they "*be ready* to move on that day," and in ordering that it "be the day for a general movement," without stating objects, numbers to be employed, routes or manner of advance, obviously it was intended only to fix a time for making the movements planned or to be planned by the commanders of the forces, and to place upon them full responsibility for the failure to plan and to execute their plans by that day. Probably the President intended by this that when necessary this should be the evidence to the nation that the delays which provoked its impatience were not by the will of the government, as well as to warn commanders of the forces that their standing with it would depend upon their efforts to fulfil the expectation expressed in the order.

The criticism that the direction in the second clause of the order, that orders shall be obeyed, is superfluous,[4] misses the point that its purpose was merely to supply orders for forces not named in the first clause.

This interpretation of the order as requiring preparation for, rather than execution of, movements was McClellan's inter-

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 76.
[2] *Ib.*, 568.
[3] *Civil War*, I. 609.
[4] *Ropes*, Part I. 227.

pretation in the following passage of his report of August, 1863,[1] referring to Secretary Stanton:

> Very soon after his entrance upon office, I laid before him verbally my design as to the part of the plan of campaign to be executed by the Army of the Potomac, which was to attack Richmond by the lower Chesapeake. He instructed me to develop it to the President, which I did. The result was that the President disapproved of it and by an order of January 31, 1862, substituted one of his own . . . as follows . . .
>
> "*Ordered.* That all the disposable force of the Army of the Potomac, after providing safely for the defence of Washington, be formed into an expedition for the immediate object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction, all details to be in the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, and the expedition to move before or on the 22d day of February next." . . .
>
> I asked his excellency whether this order was to be regarded as final, or whether I could be permitted to submit in writing my objections to his plan, and my reasons for preferring my own. Permission was accorded, and I therefore prepared the letter to the Secretary of War which is given below.

Ropes's criticism that the President, in issuing this order, had not "the courage to look in the face the fact that the condition of the roads in Virginia made marching in that region by a large army, for the time being, wholly impracticable," [2] seems not to notice that the time set for the movement was at a season several weeks ahead, when impassable roads were not in all years inevitable. In fact, in this very season, McClellan, in fear that the enemy were about to move for attack on his forces on the upper Potomac or in the Shenandoah valley, and with a view to covering the reconstruction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in that region, was arranging, from February 20 to 26, for immediate movement of Banks's and Lander's divisions,[3] supported by four others from the Washington defences. Again, nearly half the Army of the Potomac moved from the Petersburg trenches west of Hatcher's Run and there were in severe engagement February 5–7, 1865.[4]

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 41.
[2] *Ropes*, I. 226.
[3] 107 *W. R.*, 534, 536, 540; 5 *W. R.*, 48, 725–727, 728.
[4] 95 *W. R.*, 149–154, 191, 253.

The project of the President's order for seizing the railroad behind Johnston's line and thus cutting his communication with the Confederate capital and the sources of his supplies (which was the leading feature of the plan proposed by Heintzelman in October and the President in December) was based on sound strategy. It followed the best precedents and was justly considerate of soldierly self-respect in leaving all details to McClellan's discretion.

Continuing his report, McClellan wrote that before the letter prepared by him in support of his plan had been submitted the President addressed him a note dated February 3, in which he wrote, "I shall gladly yield my plan to yours," in return for a satisfactory comparison of the two plans in the matters of time and money, certainty and value of victory, and difficulty of retreat in case of disaster. McClellan's letter, also dated February 3,[1] which he said contained these comparisons, recites at length the history of his command, and other matters which need not be recited for the present comparison of the two plans of campaign. In this letter he wrote:

> I have now under my command a well-drilled and reliable army, to which the destinies of the country may be confidently committed. . . .
>
> In the earliest papers I submitted to the President I asked for an effective and movable force far exceeding the aggregate now on the banks of the Potomac. I have not the force I asked for. . . .
>
> I have ever regarded our true policy as being that of fully preparing ourselves, and then seeking for the most decisive results. I do not wish to waste life in useless battles, but prefer to strike at the heart.

Then, turning to the President's plan, he assumed that the enemy would forestall the Union advance, in occupying Brentsville, and consequently prevent its interposition between the enemy and Richmond.

In support of this assumption he continued: "In this latitude the weather will for a considerable period be very uncertain, and a movement commenced in force on roads in tolerably firm condition will be liable, almost certain, to be much delayed by rains and snow. It will therefore be next to im-

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 42.

possible to surprise the enemy or take him at a disadvantage by rapid manœuvres."

He also called attention to "the present unprecedented and impassable condition of the roads" in support of the assertion that "no precise period can be fixed upon for the movement on this line, nor can its duration be closely calculated; it seems certain that many weeks may elapse before it is possible to commence the march."

In closing his comments on this plan he wrote:

Assuming the success of this operation and the defeat of the enemy as certain, the question at once arises as to the importance of the results gained. I think these results would be confined to the possession of the field of battle, the evacuation of the lines of the upper Potomac by the enemy, and the moral effect of the victory — important results, it is true, but not decisive of the war nor securing the destruction of the enemy's main army, for he could fall back on other positions, and fight us again and again, should the condition of his troops permit. . . . If he is in no condition to fight us again out of the range of the intrenchments at Richmond, we would find it a very difficult and tedious matter to follow him up there, for he would destroy his railroad bridges and otherwise impede our progress through a region where the roads are as bad as they well can be, etc.

Of his own plan he wrote as follows:

The lower Chesapeake Bay . . . affords the shortest possible land route to Richmond. . . . The roads in that region are passable at all seasons of the year. The country . . . is much more favorable for offensive operations than that in front of Washington (which is very unfavorable), much more level, more cleared land, the woods less dense, the soil more sandy, and the spring some two or three weeks earlier. A movement in force on that line obliges the enemy to abandon his intrenched position, in order to hasten to cover Richmond and Norfolk. He must do this; for should he permit us to occupy Richmond his destruction can be averted only by entirely defeating us in battle in which he must be the assailant. This movement, if successful, gives us the capital, the communications, the supplies, of the rebels. Norfolk would fall, all the waters of the Chesapeake would be ours, all Virginia would be in our power, and the enemy forced to abandon Tennessee and North Carolina. The alternative presented to the enemy would be to beat us, in a

position selected by ourselves, disperse or pass beneath the Caudine Forks. . . .

Should it be determined to operate from the lower Chesapeake the point of landing which promises the most brilliant results is Urbana on the lower Rappahannock. This point is easily reached by vessels of heavy draught; it is neither occupied nor observed by the enemy — it is but one march from West Point, the key of that region, and thence but two marches to Richmond. A rapid movement from Urbana would probably cut off Magruder in the Peninsula, and enable us to occupy Richmond before it could be strongly reenforced. Should we fail in that we could, with the co-operation of the navy, cross the James and throw ourselves in rear of Richmond, thus forcing the enemy to come out and attack us, for his position would be untenable, with us on the southern bank of the river. . . .

I propose . . . to select Urbana as a landing place for the first detachments; to transport by water four divisions of infantry with their batteries, the regular infantry, a few wagons, one bridge train and a few squadrons of cavalry, making the vicinity of Hooker's position the place of embarkation for as many as possible, to ferry the regular cavalry reserve artillery and remaining bridge trains and wagons across the Potomac from near Cape Lookout, march them to the Rappahannock and ferry them over that. . . .

This movement, if adopted, will not expose the city of Washington to danger.

The total force to be thrown upon the new line would be according to circumstances from 110,000 to 140,000. . . .

So much am I in favor of the southern line of operations that I would prefer the move from Fortress Monroe as a base —,as a certain though less brilliant movement than that from Urbana — to an attack upon Manassas.

In the picture here drawn of the Union army beating the enemy to Richmond and there, by a single victory in battle on the defensive, compelling the enemy to surrender or retreat, and thus at one stroke gaining all Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina, are betrayed the illusions which we have seen McClellan harboring, that the Confederates would make Virginia the field on which to decide the war, and that one victory over them with the display of overwhelming strength would lead to peace. It is evident that, believing as he did that Johnston had an army as large as his own, McClellan here counted on the advantage of position at Richmond to give him the requisite

strength in effect. The movement by Urbana around Johnston's flank to win Richmond by surprise appealed to McClellan's sense of the dramatic. His desire to preserve his influence as a peacemaker after a decisive victory appears in the avowal above quoted from his letter that he did not wish to fight "useless battles" for "barren victory."

The President, perhaps estimating the superiority of the Union numbers better than did McClellan, notwithstanding the latter's letter and distrusting delays and uncertainties in the execution of the plan therein set forth, hesitated to turn away from the prospect of immediate victory in front of Washington. There is record of prolonged and anxious deliberations and differing judgments as to the ability to assemble quickly enough the great fleet of transports required by McClellan's plan.[1]

The plans were still pending when news arrived from remote fields which well may have stirred McClellan to action by another plan which had his attention for a brief time, and which, if taken, might have changed the fortune of war in Virginia.

These tidings were of Burnside's capture of Roanoke Island, February 8, and the capture of Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, February 6, and Grant's march thence on the 12th against Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. These navigable rivers offered access from the Ohio to Kentucky and Tennessee, and, at their crossing by the direct railway from Columbus and Memphis to Bowling Green, to a vulnerable point in the Confederate line. Movements up these rivers had been suggested on November 20 to Halleck by Colonel Whittelsey and later had been discussed by McClellan, Halleck and Buell.[2] The developments in Grant's reconnaissance above mentioned were such that soon after its return he telegraphed Halleck on January 29: "With permission, I will take Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and establish and hold a large camp there. . . . From Fort Henry it will be easy to operate either on the Cumberland, only 12 miles distant, Memphis or Columbus."[3] Halleck had not seemed to favor the project when previously

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 45–46.
[2] 7 *W. R.*, 440, 528, 529; 8 *W. R.*, 509, 510.
[3] *Ib.*, 72, 561, 121.

proposed by Grant, and in his *Memoirs* the latter modestly suggests that Halleck, in assenting on January 30 to the proposal above quoted, was moved by the concurrent recommendation of Flag Officer Foote.[1] In fact he was moved by a trick of fortune. He was yet of the belief that he had not sufficient well-prepared troops in hand for a serious movement against the enemy, when McClellan, as if converted to the belief that the Confederates would spare troops from Virginia, telegraphed him on January 28 the declaration of a deserter from Centreville that "he had heard officers say that Beauregard was under orders to go to Kentucky with fifteen regiments from the Army of the Potomac" [Johnston's]. Halleck, too credulous of this news and judging that it was of the utmost importance to cut the railroad line from Columbus to Bowling Green before such a force could arrive,[2] on January 30 ordered Grant, with all his available troops and Foote's fleet, to go up the Tennessee, invest and take Fort Henry, and, after investing it, send cavalry to break up that railroad (passing a few miles from the fort) from Dover towards Memphis.[3]

The expedition started on February 4, and on the 6th the guns of the fleet silenced Fort Henry and compelled its surrender after about 2500 of its garrison had marched for Fort Donelson. On the same day Grant telegraphed Halleck: "Fort Henry is ours. The gunboats silenced the batteries before the investment was completed. . . . I shall take and destroy Fort Donelson on the 8th and return to Fort Henry," and by letter of same date added, "and return to Fort Henry with the forces employed unless it looks feasible to occupy that place with a small force that could retreat easily to the main body."[4]

Grant's force on February 8 was about 20,000. There can be no doubt that Halleck had informed him of the news, in Buell's despatch of February 3, that 10,000 men had been sent from Bowling Green who would oppose him at Fort Donelson, and of his own opinion that it would be the policy of the enemy to concentrate at Dover and attempt to retake Fort Henry.[5]

[1] Grant's *Memoirs*, I. 287; 7 *W. R.*, 121, 120.

[2] *Ib.*, 571, 572, 593, 122. In fact Beauregard went to Kentucky, but, contrary to the belief of the Comte de Paris, no troops went. 1 *Civil War*, 526; 5 *W. R.*, 1048, 1053; 7 *W. R.*, 861.

[3] *Ib.*, 121, 122, 575, 577. Dover was several miles north of the railroad.

[4] *Ib.*, 122, 124, 129, 140, 141, 125. [5] *Ib.*, 159, 580, 591, 593, 596.

Grant's quick perception of the feasibility and advantage of marching from his base at Fort Henry across the neck of 12 miles between the Tennessee and Cumberland to attack Fort Donelson was that of military genius. The capture of the fort opened the Cumberland River for use in the advance into Central Kentucky, the mere threat of which started the retreat of the Confederates thence to Tennessee.[1]

Grant's decision to attack Fort Donelson at the supposed risk of encountering 12,000 or more indicated the intuition of a great commander, no less than his final decision, after his right wing had been forced back, to make the assault on February 15, which resulted in the surrender of the fort with 14,623 of the garrison. In fact his entire force during the operations was 27,000 against 21,000.[2]

News of the victory at Fort Henry and of the purpose to take Fort Donelson reached McClellan on February 7,[3] and of the capture of the latter on the 16th or 17th.[4] It is not unlikely that it was this news that awakened McClellan to the possibility of an operation on the lower Potomac similar to that effected by Grant. His correspondence at this time suggests a new interest in crossing the Potomac to reach Fredericksburg. On February 10 the Commander of the Potomac flotilla wrote him[5] that embarkation at Liverpool, Smith's and Maryland Points could be concealed from the enemy, and that between Fooke's Landing and Boyd's Hole opposite, troops could be landed with little opposition, and discussed crossings to march on Occoquan or Dumfries, and gave distances from the landings to Fredericksburg. On February 13 McClellan advised Hooker[6] that barges capable of carrying 8000 men would be sent him from Baltimore. Some months later Secretary Chase wrote in his diary:[7]

> February came and on the 13th General McClellan said to me, "In ten days I shall be in Richmond." A little surprised at the near

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 861, 863, 880, 426.

[2] *Ib.*, 140, 141, 159, 161; *N. & L.*, 78. The march on and operations against Fort Donelson were delayed by high water, and on February 14 Grant feared he must besiege it. 7 *W. R.*, 596, 613, 614.

[3] *Ib.*, 590, 591.

[4] *Ib.*, 624, 625, 627. Possibly through Scott.

[5] *Navy Records*, v. 20.

[6] 107 *W. R.*, 530.

[7] Schucker's *Life of Salmon P. Chase*, 446.

approach of a consummation so devoutly to be wished, I asked, "What is your plan, General?" "Oh," said he, "I mean to cross the river, attack and carry their batteries, and push on after the enemy." "Have you any boats to aid in the attack on the batteries?" "No, they are not needed. All I want is transportation and canal boats, of which I have plenty that will answer." I did not think it worth while to reply, but made a note of the date and waited.

On February 15 McClellan, writing Hooker[1] his opinion that the latter had better if possible attack all the batteries on the lower Potomac at once, added: "The sooner you make the effort the better. Should all be ready and the weather propitious, tonight would be better than any later time. . . . You can be re-enforced to any extent you may desire." On the same day Hooker replied[2] that he needed time to prepare and a dark night to conceal the movement, and on the 18th he telegraphed his opinion that landing at Fooke's Landing and Boyd's Hole gives "a better country to campaign in than at Aquia Creek," adding, "The effect on the war in Eastern Virginia would depend very much on the strength of the column. If of three divisions it would compel the enemy in the North to fall back without his railroads, enable us to take Richmond, or, if considered more important, capture Magruder's command." And again on the 20th that his balloon observations satisfied him that he could carry the batteries, and "the free navigation of the river will give us immense advantages over the rebels, particularly so long as the roads remain in their present condition, and the destruction of the batteries will in no way expose future intentions of the Major General in the conduct of the war."[3] Proof that in this correspondence McClellan was looking to an advance on Richmond as well as an attack on the Potomac batteries, if needed, is found in his despatches[4] of February 20 to Buell and Halleck — to the former at Bowling Green, "If the force in the West can take Nashville, or even hold its own for the present, I hope to have Richmond and Norfolk in three or four weeks"; and to the latter, "This army moves very shortly," and again (after hearing

[1] 107 *W. R.*, 532. See Hooker, January 27, 5 *W. R.*, 709.
[2] 5 *W. R.*, 722.
[3] *Ib.*, 724, 725.
[4] 7 *W. R.*, 640, 641.

of the fall of Clarksville at the railway crossing on the Cumberland):[1] "The rebels hold firm at Manassas. In less than two weeks I shall move the Army of the Potomac, and hope to be in Richmond soon after you are in Nashville. . . . We will have a desperate battle on this line." That McClellan did not here refer to his plan of moving by Urbana is proved by the fact that he knew that that expedition could not start until 30 days after the order for its preparation should be given, which order was given on February 27.[2]

The approach of the Potomac to the Rappahannock leaves between them at Fredericksburg a neck 10 miles in width. This presented the opportunity for an operation nearly identical with Grant's on the Tennessee, for transporting quickly on the Potomac, in the season of muddy roads, a column to carry or contain the batteries on its bank, and thence march on Fredericksburg or some more favorable lower crossing of the Rappahannock, defeating the 6000 Confederates[3] posted to cover the approach to that city, and thence by a march of thirty miles or less reach, at Hanover Junction, the Virginia Central Railroad, the sole line from Richmond to Johnston's army at Centreville. Heintzelman's division, by a march of 10 or 12 miles from its left on Doogue Creek to Occoquan could compel troops from Manassas to make a wide *détour* for Fredericksburg and thence, with the rest of the Army of the Potomac not carried on the Potomac, could have reached Hanover Junction in advance of the Confederates.

In position at Hanover Junction McClellan's army could have fought the defensive battle for which he planned the movement via Urbana, or if Johnston, avoiding this, had marched around his flank to reach Richmond, the Union army could have taken a shorter route to that point.[4]

If there should be heavy roads it would be to the enemy's disadvantage on the longer route. The use of the Rappahannock for men and materials would be secured by the Union advance crossing at or below Fredericksburg.

[1] 7 *W. R.*, 644. On February 25 Foote's fleet took possession of Nashville, the Confederates having retreated South. *Ib.*, 659.

[2] 5 *W. R.*, 46.

[3] The troops in Aquia District. *Ib.*, 1086.

[4] Terrain and scale on *W. R. Atlas*, Plates VII, VIII, XII.

Early movement was advisable to insure the advantage of water transportation while heavy roads should impede the enemy, but McClellan soon began to entertain arguments for delay. On February 23 he proposed [1] that Hooker should defer action until the expected arrival of the Monitor on the Potomac, although he offered the latter a re-enforcement of 10,000 to 15,000. Hooker in reply [2] stated his opinion against waiting, on the ground that a favorable morning was more important, and asked, "If the additional force is sent, will it not be advisable to include Fredericksburg in the programme? The force directed against the batteries will soon be at liberty to re-enforce the column directed against the last-named place. They can be landed at Fooke's, it being nearer than at Aquia Creek. . . . Please advise me what post Heintzelman will take," etc. McClellan replied:[3] "If a favorable night and morning occur before the Ericsson [Monitor] arrives, surprise with your own troops the upper points, if possible, leaving out of consideration the lower point spoken of [Fooke's]. Should the Ericsson be here before a proper night offers, I will immediately arrange to accomplish the object in force, but will send no re-enforcements until that time."

At this point he consulted with Barnard, who advised that the project involved all that would be needed to open a campaign, and that it should not be undertaken "merely to capture the Potomac batteries," [4] that probably three divisions would be needed to defeat the enemy's force between the Occoquan and the Potomac, that this operation should be commanded by himself in person, or a general officer in command of the troops and the naval flotilla, and that "if it is not judged best to make an imposing movement beyond the Occoquan it is better to let the batteries alone than to undertake to silence them by landing" and then re-embarking. . . . "The way and the only way to take the works is to occupy the ground behind them." [5]

The implication of the despatches above cited is that McClellan, if really contemplating the movement via Fredericksburg, did not take Hooker or Barnard into his confidence on this

[1] 107 *W. R.*, 536.
[2] 5 *W. R.*, 726.
[3] 107 *W. R.*, 536.
[4] 5 *W. R.*, 47, 48; 107 *W. R.*, 542.
[5] 107 *W. R.*, 542.

point. In his report of August 3 [1] he treats the deliberations on, and preparations for, crossing the lower Potomac as if they were directed only to the capture of the Potomac batteries, unless in a passage as follows: "The idea was at one time entertained by the President to use them [canal boats] in forming a bridge across the Potomac near Liverpool Point in order to throw the army over at that point."

At the time of the above correspondence with Barnard McClellan was at Harper's Ferry, where he had gone to observe or direct the movement to reopen and cover the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Although the failure to throw a permanent bridge over the river near Harper's Ferry for this purpose had determined him to abandon the project of covering the railroad for which he had intended to use the bridge and to return to Washington, he, upon receiving Barnard's advice above cited, on February 27 suspended the order for Hooker's movement across the lower Potomac.[2] It was never renewed. On the same day the President, probably not yet informed that McClellan had halted the movements for the objects so much desired by the government on the lower Potomac and in the Shenandoah valley, directed the assembling of the vessels for the movement to the lower Chesapeake which McClellan had planned.[3] Before the vessels needed to begin this movement had been assembled, Johnston, by retiring to the Rappahannock on March 9, destroyed whatever chance there was that McClellan could achieve his hope of reaching Richmond ahead of Johnston, by a movement via Urbana. It is clear that from the day when he disclosed the plan to the President, whether February 3 or earlier, he was not at liberty before February 27 to begin its execution. Thus far, if we except the period when McClellan thought to move via Fredericksburg, and thus far only, does the record support his assertion:[4]

The fears of the administration and their inability to comprehend the merits of the scheme, or else the determination that I

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 45, 48.
[2] *Ib.*, 48, 728; 107 *W. R.*, 540, 542, 543.
[3] 5 *W. R.*, 46. As this order itself was the President's assent to McClellan's plan, Swinton errs in stating that he withheld the order "for almost a month" after approving the plan.
[4] *Own Story*, 227.

should not succeed in the approaching campaign, induced them to prohibit me from carrying out the Urbana movement. They gave me the choice between the direct overland route via Manassas, and the route with Fort Monroe as a base. Of course I selected the latter.

The President well understood the great weakness in the plan of moving to the Peninsula, as appears in his letter to McClellan of April 9,[1] where he wrote:

"You will do me the justice to remember I always insisted that going down the bay in search of a field instead of fighting near Manassas was only shifting, and not surmounting, a difficulty, that we would find the same enemy, and the same or equal intrenchments at either place." This was undoubtedly a potent reason for his delay in approving McClellan's plan.

During all of the time the plan was under consideration the pressure from all sides for action by the army under McClellan at Washington was proof that no faction desired the loss of the campaign, in view of the treatment in his letter of February 3 of all plans then proposed as feasible. The radicals as well as others no doubt found reason for dissatisfaction with McClellan's respect for slaveholders' rights in their slaves, which might be attributed to his wish to keep a standing with them for the rôle of peacemaker, as shown in his orders to Buell and Burnside,[2] and by the belief avowed by him that the abolition of slavery should be postponed until the slaves should be fitted by education for freedom.[3] But there is no need to believe that therefore the radicals tried, as McClellan extravagantly assumes, to precipitate him into a losing campaign as a necessary step to establishing the permanent rule of their party even at the cost of destroying the Union.[4] They found ample motive, without this, to urge action by the army for the country's good.

It does not follow, from any disclosures in the record, that if McClellan between December 1 and the middle of January had proposed immediate execution of the Urbana movement the Administration might not have agreed to it. McClellan's long and unexplained inaction during that period may have influenced the President against the project when it was fully disclosed to him.

[1] 12 *W. R.*, 15.
[2] 5 *W. R.*, 37, 38, 39.
[3] *Own Story*, 33, 34.
[4] *Ib.*, 227.

Much less does it follow that McClellan had choice only of Manassas or Fort Monroe. Probably the President would have assented gladly to movement on the route via Fredericksburg, as did Secretary Chase on February 13. This was the movement which Johnston regarded as the most dangerous to him, and it is inexplicable that McClellan did not see it to be such and adopt it. By this route the water transit would have been not more than a tenth the distance of that by Urbana. The march to Richmond would have been 60 miles from Urbana, and about the same from the Potomac landings. From these landings to Hanover Junction it would have been about 37 miles. The movement to Hanover Junction would have been literally within the terms of the President's order of January 31, "with the object of seizing and occupying a point upon the railroad southwestward of what is known as Manassas Junction," and, ending within short reach of quick water transport to Washington, it would not have been open to the objection of leaving that city in danger from an attack by Johnston.

Possibly McClellan, misled by Pinkerton's exaggerated estimate of the Confederate numbers, which on March 8 remained at 150,000 as it was in October,[1] turned from this movement because it did not seem to insure him the display of overwhelming strength, by forestalling Johnston in the Richmond intrenchments. But in fact Johnston's effectives had fallen from 62,000 in December to about 48,000 in March, and from January 1 to March 9 there were in the Army of the Potomac 110,000 or more available for the movement.[2]

McClellan wrote in his report:[3] "On my return from Harper's Ferry on the 28th of February the preparations necessary to carry out the wishes of the President and Secretary of War in regard to destroying the batteries on the lower Potomac were at once undertaken . . . [and] advanced as rapidly as the season permitted."

The record gives no other evidence of any preparation unless in the effort on March 5 to send scouts among the enemy's troops at Dumfries.[4]

[1] 5 *W. R.*, 9, 736.

[2] *Ib.*, 736, 9, 10, 12, 13, 1015, 1040, 1074; Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, II. 83, 85; 14 *W. R.*, 405.

[3] 5 *W. R.*, 49.

[4] 107 *W. R.*, 548; 5 *W. R.*, 735.

The movement of Johnston's army on March 9 back to the Rappahannock not only ended the chance, such as it was, of surprising, and beating, it in the race for Richmond by moving down the Chesapeake, but it also was immediately followed by the reduction of McClellan's command of all the armies to that of the Department of the Potomac alone. It remains to notice the instances of his exercise of the former command in fields other than those above mentioned.

T. W. Sherman's expedition of 12,000 men had sailed in October for Port Royal, South Carolina, where it was established upon the reduction of its forts by Du Pont's fleet on November 7.[1] McClellan instructed him, on February 14, 1862,[2] to lay siege to Fort Pulaski rather than attack Savannah, and otherwise to concentrate his attention on Fernandina and St. Augustine. On February 23[3] McClellan also instructed Butler to sail for the Gulf of Mexico and proceed with his expedition of 15,000 to co-operate with the navy in its attack on New Orleans. The relation of these operations to the others embraced in McClellan's plans for all the armies will be considered later.

Mr. MORRISON communicated a paper on

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1780.

To the *Proceedings* of this Society for November, 1916, Mr. Lord contributed a proposal of the town of Middleborough to nullify and overthrow the Massachusetts constitution of 1780, within four months of the date it had been formally proclaimed the fundamental law of the Commonwealth. To me this document was a complete surprise, as I had always believed that the greatest and most enduring of the revolutionary constitutions had been ratified by the people with substantial unanimity. An inspection of the original returns of the towns on the constitution, in the Massachusetts Archives, revealed a contrary condition of affairs. So numerous, indeed, and interesting were the objections, that I have thought it worth

[1] 6 *W. R.*, 3, 4, 185.
[2] 5 *W. R.*, 39.
[3] *Ib.*, 40; 6 *W. R.*, 699.

while to analyze and classify them, and tabulate the vote. As my research progressed, I was more and more impressed by the high degree of political wisdom possessed by the average citizen of Massachusetts in 1780. A few of the exceptions made to the constitution were fantastic. A considerable class were due to prejudice and inertia rather than to knowledge. But a still more numerous class of objections, particularly those to Article III of the Declaration of Rights, would be recognized as valid by any political scientist today. Many of them, in fact, have since been adopted as amendments to the constitution.

My tabulation of the vote on the two articles most frequently objected to (for the towns voted on the constitution, not as a whole, but clause by clause), made it doubtful whether the requisite two-thirds majority was secured on those questions. That led to an inquiry as to the exact method by which the constitution was ratified. I had always supposed that it was ratified by the people. Several modern authorities on history and government, including at least four of our members past and present, have stated as much in print. But a study of the method actually prescribed by the Convention, and followed, proved otherwise. The method is too complicated to be described by a single formula; but it is not far from the truth to state that the constitution was referred to the people for their consideration and detailed vote, the consent of two-thirds being a prerequisite; but ratified by an adjourned session of the Convention, with a fresh popular mandate. An examination of the Convention's methods of tabulating the popular vote raises the suspicion that the two-thirds majority was manufactured. I leave it to your judgment to decide whether the constitution of Massachusetts, now in force almost 137 years, was ever legally ratified.

I. THE METHOD OF ADOPTING AND RATIFYING THE CONSTITUTION.

1. Preliminary Action of the Legislature.

After the draft constitution of February 28, 1778, had been rejected by the people, the General Court resolved to take the sense of the qualified voters on the questions whether they

chose to have a new constitution, and whether they would empower their representatives to call a Convention for the sole purpose of framing one.[1] The vote on both questions being favorable,[2] the General Court passed a resolve on June 15, 1779, directing the selectmen "of the several Towns and Places within this State" to call a meeting of their respective towns in order to elect as many delegates to the Constitutional Convention as they were entitled to send representatives to the House. It was expressly provided that "every Freeman, Inhabitant of such town, who is twenty-one years of age, shall have the right to vote," although a property qualification was at this time required for voting for representatives. The constitutional Convention, then, rested on a wider electorate than the existing state government. It was elected by, and submitted its work to, the People, in the widest contemporary political sense of that word.

The same resolve recommended the inhabitants "to instruct their respective Delegates" to submit such "Form of a Constitution they may agree upon in Convention" back to the same electorate, assembled in town meetings, "in order to its being considered and approved or disapproved by said Towns and Plantations. And it is also recommended to the several Towns within this State, to instruct their respective Representatives to establish the said Form of a Constitution, as the Constitution and Form of Government of the State of Massachusetts Bay, if, upon a fair examination, it shall appear, that it is approved of by at least two-thirds of those, who are free and twenty-one years of age, belonging to this State, and present in the several town meetings." [3]

The important thing to be noted here is that the General

[1] *Journal of the Convention for framing a Constitution of Government for the State of Massachusetts Bay, from . . . September 1, 1779, to . . . June 16, 1780.* (Published by order of the Legislature, Boston, 1832), 189. This is the only printed edition of the Journal, the MS. of which is in the Mass. Archives, CCLXXVI. The work cited includes an appendix in the legislative resolves calling the Convention into existence, the report of the General Committee of the Convention, the constitution as finally agreed upon by the Convention, and "ratified" by the people, the Convention's address to the people, and the rejected constitution of 1778. This last document has recently been reprinted by the Old South Association as *Old South Leaflet*, No. 209.

[2] *Supra*, p. 245.

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, 5–6.

Court *recommended* a certain mode of ratification, but did not presume to bind the Convention to adopt that particular mode. The Convention derived all its authority from the people, and was not bound in any shape or manner by the existing legislative body of the State.[1]

2. The Constitutional Convention of 1779–1780.

a. *The First and Second Sessions, September 1–November 12, 1779.*

The Constitutional Convention convened, on September 1, 1779, at the old Meeting House of the First Church in Cambridge, the site of which, in Harvard Square, is now marked by a tablet. The list of members prefixed to the Journal of the Convention contains 293 names, although the highest recorded vote on any question was but 247.[2] At the first session James Bowdoin was elected President, and Samuel Barrett Secretary of the Convention. On September 4 the Convention appointed a committee of thirty to prepare a constitution to be laid before the whole body and on September 7 adjourned to give the committee time to prepare its report. This General Committee, as is well known, delegated its duties to a subcommittee of three, consisting of Bowdoin and the "brace of Adamses," and that committee left the entire task to John Adams.

The second session of the Convention began on October 28, 1779. Nineteen more members produced their credentials and took their seats. On the afternoon of that day, the General Committee reported the Adams draft, which was forthwith printed.[3] The remainder of the session, until November 12,

[1] It even refused to ask the General Court for salaries and mileage. *Journal of the Convention*, 183.

[2] 34 from Suffolk (including the present Norfolk County), 46 from Essex, 43 from Middlesex, 63 from Worcester, 35 from Hampshire (including the present Hampden and Franklin counties), 16 from Plymouth, 2 from Barnstable, 20 from Bristol, 8 from the Maine counties, and 26 from Berkshire. Very few towns were unrepresented except in Maine, Barnstable, Dukes County, and Nantucket. The two island counties were cut off from the continent by the war, and took no part in framing the constitution; and Maine east of the Penobscot was occupied by the enemy.

[3] *The Report of a Constitution or Form of Government for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: — agreed upon by the Committee to be laid before the Convention of Delegates assembled at Cambridge, on the first day of September A. D. 1779; and continued by adjournment to the twenty-eighth day of October following.* Reprinted

was devoted almost exclusively to the Declaration of Rights, particularly to Article III. John Adams attended up to the last day, but sailed for France on the 13th.[1] Opinions differ on his ability as a diplomatist, a rôle to which he was fitted neither by training nor disposition; but there can be no two opinions regarding his ability as a constitution maker, or the loss that the Commonwealth sustained through his absence from the concluding sessions of the Convention.

b. *Third Session, January 5 (27)–March 2, 1780.*

The third session should have commenced at the Representatives' Chamber in the Old State House, Boston, on January 5, 1780. During the previous session, attendance had fallen off to such an alarming extent that the faithful minority published an advertisement in the newspapers urging a constant and general attendance henceforth, "as the business of the Convention is not of a transient, but permanent nature, and is designed for the benefit of the remotest ages of this Commonwealth, the presence and assistance of the whole body is expected and required; which will have a tendency to remove those local and temporary prejudices and views which might otherwise endanger the acceptance of the best Constitution the Convention can propose."[2]

But in the meantime the hard winter of 1780 had settled down. Oldest inhabitants said it was the worst since that of 1717, which Cotton Mather has so vividly described; although less elderly inhabitants insisted that they remembered even deeper snow in 1740. Certainly no winter so severe occurred within the next half century. Boston Harbor was frozen up to Nantasket Roads, so that for a month no vessel could enter or leave the port. In the country the cold was so intense that wells and springs froze solid, and the snow lay so deep on the roads that travel was impossible save by snowshoes. On January 20 the Boston-Hartford road was the only one open to travel in the central part of the state, and three months later the snow still covered the fences in some of the western towns.

in the *Journal of the Convention*, 191–215, and, with notes, in the *Works of John Adams*, IV. 219–267.

[1] *Ib.*, I. 297.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, 50.

The effect on the Convention was to postpone the real opening of its third session until January 27, when only sixty members were present; and in spite of frequent and vigorous appeals for better attendance, the number of members present and voting never exceeded 82.[1] On this rump of a convention, in which large sections of the state were unrepresented, fell the vital task of amending John Adams' draft into the finished frame of government.[2]

c. *The Method of Ratification adopted by the Convention.*

On February 23, 1780, the Convention appointed a committee "to consider and report a suitable time and place to which this Convention shall adjourn . . . in order to obtaining and acting upon the sense of its constituents upon such a Constitution or Frame of Government as may be agreed upon, and sent out to them for their revision, and also to what extent and effect it may act upon the same when obtained."[3] This committee reported on February 29 and March 1 and 2 — its first report being accepted, the second recommitted, and the third rejected. The entries in the journal are so involved and contradictory that it is impossible to trace clearly the formation of the final resolve. It is evident, however, that some members wished submission to the people, amendment if need be, an adjourned session of the Convention, and resubmission to the

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, 55–57. Only 47 towns were then represented, 33 of them in Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex counties. The high-recorded vote in the journal was 82, on February 16. It fell off gradually to 36, on the 28th, the last day on which numbers are recorded.

[2] The journal of this session, from its real commencement, on January 27, 1780, to its end on March 2, occupies 113 pages in the printed edition, as compared with 48 pages for the other three sessions. The appointments to the committees on perfecting and amending various sections were as fairly distributed among the members from various sections of the state as the unequal attendance would allow. John Lowell of Boston served on thirteen committees, and the following on five or more: Samuel Adams, Ellis Gray, and James Sullivan of Boston, John Pickering of Salem, George Cabot of Beverly, Jonathan Jackson of Newburyport, Levi Lincoln, Jr., of Worcester, Timothy Danielson of Brimfield, Robert Treat Paine of Taunton, John Cuming of Concord, and Rev. Samuel West of Dartmouth. Theophilus Parsons apparently did not arrive until February 15, but was immediately appointed to three important committees.

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, 135. The committee consisted of James Sullivan, R. T. Paine, General Danielson, Rev. Henry Cummings of Billerica, and Rev. Samuel West.

people. Others suggested a special ratifying convention, similar to the one that acted upon the Federal Constitution in 1788. No one appears to have brought up the precise method recommended by the General Court in its resolve of June 15, 1779.[1] A new and smaller committee, consisting of Sullivan, Lowell, and Paine, completed the work on March 2; and the completed resolves on the mode of ratification, as agreed upon by the Convention and notified to the selectmen of the towns, are as follows:

Resolved, That this Convention be adjourned to the first Wednesday in June next, to meet at Boston; and that Eighteen hundred Copies of the Form of Government which shall be agreed upon be printed; and, including such as shall be ordered to each Member of the Convention, be sent to the Selectmen of each Town and the Committees of each Plantation, under the direction of a Committee to be appointed for the purpose: And that they be requested as soon as may be to lay them before the Inhabitants of their respective Towns and Plantations. And if the major part of the Inhabitants of the said Towns and Plantations disapprove of any particular Part of the same, that they be desired to state their Objections distinctly and the Reasons therefor: And the Selectmen and Committees aforesaid are desired to transmit the same to the Secretary of the Convention on the first Wednesday in June, or if may be, on the last Wednesday in May, in order to his laying the same before a Committee to be appointed for the purpose of examining and arranging them for the revision and consideration of the Convention at the Adjournment; with the Number of Voters in the said Town and Plantation Meetings, on each side of every Question; in order that the said Convention, at the Adjournment, may collect the general sense of their Constituents on the several Parts of the proposed Constitution: And if there doth not appear to be two thirds of their Constituents in favour thereof, that the Convention may alter it in such a manner as that it may be agreeable to the Sentiments of two thirds of the Voters throughout the State.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Inhabitants of the several Towns and Plantations in this State, to empower their Delegates at the next Session of this Convention, to agree upon a Time when this Form of Government shall take Place, without returning the same again to the People: *Provided* that two thirds of the Male

[1] *Supra*, 355. Note that the resolve in question says "instruct their respective *Representatives*"; i. e., the existing House of Representatives, and not the Convention.

Inhabitants of the Age of twenty one years and upwards, voting in the several Town and Plantation Meetings shall agree to the same, or the Convention shall conform it to the Sentiments of two-thirds of the People as aforesaid.

Resolved, That the Towns and Plantations thro' this State have a Right to choose other Delegates, instead of the present Members, to meet in Convention on the first Wednesday in June next, if they see fit.[1]

This complicated mode of ratification may be summarized as follows:

1. Discussion of the constitution by the people in town meeting assembled.

2. Every town meeting to vote on the constitution, clause by clause, and state objections to any article that does not obtain a majority.

3. A new grant of authority by the sovereign people to the adjourned Convention, to

(*a*) tabulate the popular vote on the constitution; and

(*b*) if there appears to be a two-thirds majority for every part, to ratify the constitution and declare it in force; or

(*c*) if there does not appear to be a two-thirds majority, to alter the constitution in accord with the popular will, and ratify it thus amended.

The best brief description of the whole process is on the title-page, here reproduced in facsimile, of the edition of the constitution that was distributed among the several towns.

The Convention was confronted with conditions which made the popular acceptance of any constitution seem almost hopeless. The towns were tenacious of their power, the people jealous of authority, and self-appointed experts on government were scattered throughout the state. At the break-up of royal authority in 1774, the Massachusetts town meetings had acquired many powers that in every well-regulated government are exercised by the central authority. The towns were, in fact, the several sovereigns of Massachusetts-Bay; their relation to the General Court closely approximated that of the states to the Congress of the Confederation, with the important difference that there were not thirteen, but almost three hundred of them.

[1] Page 52 of the edition whose title-page is reproduced in facsimile.

CONSTITUTION

OR

FRAME OF GOVERNMENT.

Agreed upon by the DELEGATES of the People of the State of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

IN

CONVENTION.

Begun and held at *Cambridge* on the First of *September*, 1779,

AND

Continued by Adjournments to the Second of *March*, 1780;

To be ſubmitted to the Reviſion of their Conſtituents, in Order to the compleating of the ſame, in Conformity to their Amendments, at a Seſſion to be held for that Purpoſe, on the Firſt Wedneſday in *June* next enſuing.

BOSTON: STATE of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY,

Printed by BENJAMIN EDES & SONS, in State-Street,

M,DCC,LXXX

They had been carefully consulted in the last few years regarding every step in constitutional development, and many other matters as well. They must be handled with gloves in order to secure their consent to the new constitution. Popular prejudice against authority and political power, by whomsoever exercised, was never stronger than in 1780; the negative theory of natural rights as expounded by Locke was at the back of political thought. And political thought was particularly fecund in revolutionary Massachusetts. The Commonwealth teemed with notions of government. John Adams, writing from Philadelphia in 1776, was "grieved to hear . . . of that rage for innovation which appears in so many wild shapes in our province." [1] The ferment had somewhat subsided by 1780, during the hard realities of war; but the village Hampdens and Sidneys were still a force to be reckoned with.

With these conditions as the background, the purpose of the mode of ratification adopted by the Convention of 1780 becomes clear. An unconditional submission of the constitution "in the lump," as Pittsfield expressed it,[2] would have brought about certain rejection. The constitution of 1778 had been rejected by a vote of five to one. By giving the people an opportunity to discuss every article and state their objections, the Convention not only flattered its constituents, but supplied a safety valve for the airing of democratic prejudices and notions. The Convention's request for authority to complete and ratify the constitution was rather a large order; but the opportunity to send new delegates to the adjourned session made it more palatable.

By acquiring the power to alter and ratify the constitution, the Convention made sure that its work would not be lost; and by inducing the people to waive their right of a resubmission after alteration, much time would be saved. One detail, however, was clumsily worked out — the provision for altering the constitution "agreeable to the sentiment of two-thirds of the voters," in case there was not a two-thirds majority for the whole draft. If the people voted in the proportion of one yea to two nays, and the nays all made the same objection,

[1] 5 *Collections*, IV. 310.

[2] J. E. A. Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, I, 367. This instruction of Pittsfield to its delegate suggests the outline of the method of adoption.

well and good. But what if the vote turned out to be in the proportion of three in favor of the constitution, to two against it for various reasons? Here was no two-thirds majority; yet how alter it to suit two-thirds?

II. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSY, MARCH–JUNE, 1780.

1. The Background of the Struggle.

The towns had fourteen weeks, from March 2 to June 7, 1780, to discuss and take action upon the constitution. The ordinary printed sources of information suggest that the people took very little interest in their fundamental law. I have been able to find mention of but two pamphlets for or against the constitution. As Mr. Lord has observed,[1] not one of the six newspapers then published in Massachusetts [2] published the text of the constitution, and the only discussions of it in their columns were a series of controversial articles between two members of the Convention, largely relating to Article III; a few letters from the Rev. Isaac Backus and Dr. William Gordon; and a few reprints of town returns. Not a single newspaper, so far as I can discover, notified its readers when the constitution was ratified.[3] No one of the leading politicians carried the controversy outside his own town, and references to the constitution in such political correspondence as we have are exceedingly scanty.

Massachusetts, in fact, had other things to think of. It was perhaps the darkest period of the war. The French alliance had not yet proved its value to the cause. In the summer of 1779 occurred the disastrous Penobscot expedition, which left all Maine east of the Penobscot in the hands of the enemy, and saddled the state with an additional load of debt.[4] Con-

[1] *Supra*, p. 57.

[2] The *Boston Gazette*, *Independent Chronicle*, *Continental Journal*, *Independent Ledger*, and *Evening Post*, and the Worcester *Massachusetts Spy*. All these were weekly papers of two to four pages each. The Society has almost complete files for the period mentioned. Judging from the character of the communications they printed, the *Gazette* and *Chronicle* were against the constitution.

[3] Yet the *Independent Ledger* devoted one of its four pages in its issue of June 19, 1780, to "A Humorous and Generous Frolic of the late Duke of Montague."

[4] The total taxes levied by the General Court in 1779 and 1780, were £6,-

gress practically confessed bankruptcy in March. Sir Henry Clinton, completing the conquest of South Carolina, was almost ready to transfer his forces to New York. General Washington, with his army on the Hudson undermined by sickness, desertion[1] and lack of supplies, was writing to the state government every week, begging for its overdue quotas of men, clothing, and money. The Tories were taking heart again, and openly exulting. "Where is the public spirit of the year 1775?" wrote General Paterson from West Point to General Heath at Boston. "Where are those flaming patriots who were ready to sacrifice their lives, their fortunes, their all, for the public?" Lafayette, landing in Boston on April 28, brought the welcome news that Rochambeau's army was on its way, and his own boundless optimism was a promise of better days for the common cause. But there followed the famous Dark Day of May 19, 1780, when the light of the sun was almost completely obscured at noontime. Pious gentlemen quoted Amos viii. 9, and some detected the odor of sulphur and brimstone in the dense smoke from northern forest fires that caused this depressing phenomenon.

2. The Work of the Town Meetings.

In this most gloomy spring Massachusetts had known since the Woeful Decade, the people may well have been excused from giving their constitution the attention it deserved. Yet the contents of two bulky volumes in the Massachusetts Archives proved that below the surface, in the primary assemblies of the people, a vigorous, healthy constitutional contest was going on. The returns from the towns, which these volumes contain,[2] threw a searching light on the mental process, and the

658,567, 17s., 9½d., and £5,706,469, 16s., 7d., of course, figures inflated by being measured in a much depreciated currency.

[1] Col. Thomas Nixon, of the First Massachusetts Brigade under General Washington, issued a proclamation on February 28, 1780, ordering officers and enlisted men of his brigade who had outstayed their leave to return immediately, under pain of being considered deserters. *Independent Ledger*, March 10. On May 5, the General Court passed an act to prevent and punish desertion, and on May 31 General Washington promised by proclamation a pardon to all deserters who would return within three months. *Ib.*, June 19. A broadside was issued by the General Court on June 30, ordering the towns to fill quotas called for the previous October.

[2] Vols. CCLXXVI and CCLXXVII. These contain returns from 188 towns only.

political theories of the ordinary Yankee citizen of 1780. The Convention had invited the towns and plantations, when the constitution was laid before them, "to state their objections distinctly and the reasons therefor." This invitation was in general accepted with alacrity. Defective in grammar and crude in expression, these returns show a grasp of the fundamental principles of government, an insight into the particular problems of Massachusetts, a critical and constructive faculty, that compare favorably with the work of the famous leaders of revolutionary thought. They anticipated, in fact, most of the amendments that were made to the constitution of Massachusetts during the next seventy-five years.

The returns differ greatly in form and substance. As the Convention furnished no printed form,[1] and no very precise directions, a wide scope was left for local individuality. The length varies from thirty-five words (Marlborough) to a book of twenty-three closely written quarto pages (Northampton). The form varies from a brief acceptance or rejection of the whole constitution, to a neatly tabulated vote on every article, with precise objections to the articles that did not pass.[2] There was also a great variance in the size of the vote that turned out, and the amount of time consumed. The attendance at the town meetings was apt to dwindle away as the read-

As there is not a single return from Essex, the most wealthy and populous county in the state, and as various indications showed that many other towns made returns which have not been preserved, I have endeavored to obtain copies of the missing records in the town proceedings. A MS. list in vol. CCLXXVII. f. 124, gives the total number of towns and plantations from which returns were expected as 290. This includes the four towns of Dukes County and Nantucket, which were so isolated that they took no part in the constitutional movements of the period; but does not include the Maine towns east of the Penobscot, in territory occupied by the enemy. Accordingly I sent a circular letter, with reply post card, to the clerks of about a hundred towns in Maine and Massachusetts, from which no returns on this question are found in the Archives. At the date of printing, 35 have replied either that there is no reference to action on the constitution in their proceedings, or that their existing records do not cover the year 1780; 32 have furnished copies of their town records on this subject, which will be deposited in the library of the Society. I have personally inspected the records of 4 other towns in Essex County; and in a few cases the requisite data have been found in town histories. In most cases, unfortunately, these transcripts do not fill the lack of original returns, for the town clerks did not always copy the proceedings in full into their own records.

[1] A few towns, however, returned the copy of the printed constitution that had been furnished them, with their votes entered on the margin.

[2] See the return of Boxford, *infra*, p. 403.

ing of the long document proceeded. "It was late before we Got through it, after Sunsett," wrote the selectmen of Mansfield, "and many persons Gone before this last question was polled, and but 31 that voted. But no Person appeared against it." [1]

In Boston, 887 voters turned out, the highest numerically, and almost the highest proportionally, in the state, about one-eleventh of the total population.[2] The proportion in the other towns varied from one-ninth, in Rehoboth, to one seventy-second in Plymouth, and one one-hundredth in Biddeford, Maine.[3] In general, the western counties showed much greater interest than the seaboard counties, and Maine, least of all. The total number present and voting at the most numerous meeting in all the towns that made returns was not far from 16,000, of which less than 500 belonged to Maine. The estimated population of Massachusetts proper in 1780, is 307,000; of Maine, 55,500.[4]

Some towns disposed of the matter in a single meeting, but the majority held two or more sessions on the subject. South Hadley met seven times before it could reach a decision. Boston, after one morning and two afternoon sessions on May 3 and 4, adjourned to the 8th at three P. M., recommending that all shops be closed and business suspended at that hour in order to secure a full attendance, and that the ministers of the Gospel "remind their respective congregations the next Lord's day, of this Adjournment, and of the importance of universally withdrawing themselves a few hours from their ordinary

[1] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVII. f. 39. The vote of Stockbridge town meeting fell off from 117 on the first article of the Declaration of Rights to 17 toward the latter part of the frame of government, and rose again to 26 on Chapter VI, Art. X. *Ib.*, CCLXXVI. f. 21.

[2] Taking Lemuel Shattuck's computation of 10,000 for the population in 1780, in his City Council Report of 1845, p. 5. But 968 voters turned out to oppose the constitution of 1778.

[3] Rehoboth's total vote was 455, Plymouth's 37, and Biddeford's 10. Their population, according to the census of March, 1776, was, respectively, 4191, 2655, and 1006. "We are sorry there are so few met," reads the return of Biddeford, "but think that ought not to dishearten any, but rather to quicken to Zeal and Perseverance those who are desirous of Order, Regularity, and good Subordination." And at the foot of the return is written, "Ten men may save the city."

[4] Compare the table at the end of this article with column A of the table on p. 248. The estimate of population in 1780 is from *A Century of Population Growth*, 9.

Employments, and directing their Attention to a Matter so deeply interesting to themselves and their Posterity." The meeting on May 8 lasted until dark, and three more sessions were necessary to complete the business.[1]

The procedure employed in the greater number of towns. was to read the constitution aloud, to appoint a committee (including generally the town's delegate) to draft amendments to all objectionable articles, and to receive and vote on the report at a subsequent meeting. A division was generally taken upon every article about which a controversy took place, and upon the whole constitution as amended by the town. The Convention expressly did not encourage the towns to subject the whole document to a vote, and few did, save those too indifferent to spend time on a detailed discussion. A notable exception was Pittsfield, whose eighty votes were cast unanimously for the whole constitution in spite of the fact that in several points it contradicted the principles Pittsfield had been putting forward since the beginning of the war, and which the town's delegate in the Convention was expressly instructed to secure. The Rev. Thomas Allen, who signed the return, was the leader of the "Berkshire Constitutionalists," who began the movement for a popular constitution. Berkshire was then in a disorganized state, a veritable *regnum in regno*, "No Constitution, No Law" was the popular cry. The people refused to permit the courts of justice to sit until a constitution was adopted, and the sober conservative element of the population was probably by this time in favor of law and order at any price.[2]

But only a small minority of the towns that made returns voted on the constitution as a whole. The figures one occasionally meets with, purporting to give the total popular vote for and against the constitution of 1780, are pure fiction.

Most returns were headed, "At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants twenty-one years old and upwards, to take into consideration a Constitution or Form of Government," etc. I have seen no instance in which a town described its return as a ratification. The fact that the Convention, not the people, was to ratify the constitution, seems to have been gen-

[1] *Boston Record Commissioners*, 127–40.

[2] J. E. A. Smith, *History of Pittsfield*, I., chaps. XVIII–XX.

erally recognized.[1] The tone of all but very few returns was respectful, even deferential. "We hope to be pardon'd," concludes Ward (Auburn), "in thus freely opening our thots in these affairs, as we never had a member in the Convention. Respectfully submitting the matter therefore to the wisdom and candor of that venerable Body, we shall Rejoice to see a happifying Establishment of Government completed as soon as may be." [2]

The few towns that were not respectful, and which disagreed with pretty much everything in the constitution, seem to have been infected by the general otherwise-mindedness of our sister commonwealth. Bellingham and Medway, which had maintained a peculiar attitude on constitutional questions throughout the Revolution,[3] belong to this class, and Freetown, Rehoboth, and Swansea; all on or near the Rhode Island boundary.

3. The Question of Church and State — Declaration of Rights, Article III.

Article III of the Declaration of Rights, which virtually established Congregationalism as the state religion of Massachusetts, produced more discussion and opposition than any other part of the constitution. This article was not the work of John Adams, although he seems to have approved it. Its original form in the report of the General Committee was due to another member.[4] In the Convention it was more largely debated than any other article. The rule against a member speaking more than twice on the same question was suspended. "A free and general debate ensued," in the course of which the ancient atrocities of the German Anabaptists were raked up against the Baptist advocates of religious liberty, who retorted by comparing religious taxation to a certain practice of the sons of Eli.[5]

The article was then committed to two future governors of

[1] Cf. language of Bowdoin in 2 *Proceedings*, VIII. 290.

[2] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVII. f. 116.

[3] Harry A. Cushing, *Transition*, 200, *et passim*.

[4] He attended the Convention up to and including the day it was adopted (November 10, 1779), and has left no record of his disapproval. *Works of John Adams*, IV. 222–25.

[5] *Independent Chronicle*, December 2, 1779.

the Commonwealth (Samuel Adams and Caleb Strong), a future Judge (Robert Treat Paine), and Chief Justice (Theophilus Parsons), of the Supreme Court, one of the leading patriots of Western Massachusetts (Timothy Danielson), the minister of the Second Congregational Church in Medway (Rev. David Sanford),[1] and the minister of the First Baptist Church in Bellingham (Rev. Noah Alden).[2] The report of this committee was amended and adopted by the Convention on November 10. 1779, as Article III of the Declaration of Rights. It reads as follows, in the first edition of the constitution which was distributed to the towns:[3]

III. As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of GOD, and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality: Therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expence, for the institution of the public worship of GOD, and for the support and maintenance of public protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

AND the people of this Commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscienciously and conveniently attend.

PROVIDED notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies-politic, or religious societies, shall, at all

[1] In the list of members at the beginning of the printed Journal, his name is incorrectly given as Daniel Stanford. Cf. E. O. Jameson, *History of Medway*, 124–26.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, 40. The first three were devout and intolerant Calvinists; Judge Parsons only joined a church late in life (*Memoir*, by T. Parsons, Jr., 308–11), but identified himself, as attorney and chief justice, with a narrow and illiberal interpretation of Article III.

[3] See facsimile, p. 361.

times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

AND all monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said monies are raised.

AND every denomination of christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law: And no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.[1]

[1] For readers not initiated into the mysteries of New England ecclesiastical law and nomenclature, it may be well to explain some of the phrases of Article III, which had a perfectly definite meaning in 1780, though vague today. A *parish* in Massachusetts was (1) a territorial unit, usually coterminous with the township, though many large townships were divided into two or more parishes, which in this case were often called *precincts;* (2) a corporation consisting of all those who lived within the territorial limits of the parish or precinct, except those who formally joined a Baptist, Episcopal, or other dissenting church. The term *religious society* was applied both to parishes in their corporate sense, and to any other religious corporation. A *Church*, in Massachusetts, meant the body of communicants, or full-fledged church members of a religious society; and was never officially applied to the church edifice, called the *meeting-house*. A *public teacher* of piety, religion, etc., was a modification of the old Puritan term, "teaching elder," meaning, minister of the gospel. He was, by a law of 1692, nominated by the Church and confirmed by the parish; paragraph 3 of Article III was an innovation, and produced such unexpectedly liberal results that it was compared to the cockatrice's egg. Both before and after 1780 a Congregational minister had to be ordained by a council of his colleagues from other towns. In probably a majority of the towns, in 1780, the inhabitants were unaware of any distinction between parish and town, the affairs of both corporations being transacted in town meeting, and entered in the same book.

Massachusetts did not, like South Carolina, prescribe articles of faith in her constitution, or statutory law. The Word "orthodox" (i. e., Calvinist according to the 17th Century Cambridge Platform) and the word "Congregational" are not found in Article III. None the less did it favor the Congregational Churches, which with trifling exceptions were then orthodox, as quasi-official churches of the Commonwealth. This came about, because under the Province laws, every new town was obliged to secure an "able, learned, orthodox" minister, and provide him with a salary and meeting house. Hence every Massachusetts town in 1780 was supposed to have a Congregational church; and where more than one church existed, the Congregational was the oldest. The courts held that every citizen belonged to the oldest religious society in his town or precinct, unless he expressly joined some other (Oakes *v.* Hill, 10 Pickering, 333); and it was the oldest religious society in every town that received the religious taxes of all save those who expressly joined some recognized dissenting church.

It must be confessed that Article III was reactionary. It not only continued the religious system of the province, but exalted it to fundamental law, out of the reach of ordinary legislative enactment. The Provincial system, which was still in force in 1780, may be described as compulsory support of at least one Congregational Church in every town, by public taxation on all polls and estates, with special exceptions for Baptists, Quakers, and members of the Church of England, under certain conditions.[1] Article III was even less liberal than this system, for instead of exempting members of dissenting sects from religious taxation, it merely gave them the privilege of paying their taxes to their own pastors. Unbelievers, non-church-goers, and dissenting minorities too small to maintain a minister, had to contribute to Congregational worship. The whole article was so loosely worded as to defeat the purpose of the fifth paragraph. Every new denomination that entered the Commonwealth after 1780, notably the Universalists and Methodists, had to wage a long and expensive lawsuit to obtain recognition as a religious sect. Town treasurers refused to give regular dissenting ministers their share of the tax. The courts recognized the general principle that all persons and estates were liable to taxation for the Congregational church in their town, and construed the exemptions so narrowly that a subordination of sects existed in fact.[2] One may say that the ecclesiastical history of the Commonwealth during the next fifty years amply fulfilled the prophecy of the town of Raynham: "It is our opinion that the Said Third Article in the Bill of Rights ought to be more explicit so that it may be

There was nothing, however, in Article III to prevent a Congregational parish from adopting Unitarian instead of Calvinistic tenets; and so many did so after 1800 that the orthodox members of many ancient churches (sometimes, indeed, the whole *church*) were forced to secede from the *parish* and form a dissenting organization; thereby finding themselves in the unfortunate position originally designed for their opponents. When Chief Justice Parker refused them redress in the great Dedham case of Baker *v.* Fales, great was the wailing and gnashing of teeth.

[1] The Provincial system is described in detail in an admirable monograph by Miss Susan M. Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691–1740.* (University of Illinois Studies in Social Sciences, III. No. 4, Urbana, 1914.)

[2] In Barnes *v.* Falmouth, 6 *Mass. Rep.* 401, C. J. Parsons refused to recognize any minister as legally entitled to receive the taxes of his flock unless he were settled over an incorporated religious society. For the working of the system see Buck, *Mass. Eccl. Law*, esp. chaps. ii and iii, and Hovey, *Backus*, chap. xviii.

Easily understood by all men. If not there will be Danger of Different Societies Quariling and Contending in the Law about their Rights which will Tend to the Destruction of Piety, Religion and Morality and Entirely Subvert the Intention of said Third Article."

"We flatter ourselves," says the Address of the Convention to its constituents, "that while we have considered Morality and the Public Worship of God, as important to the Happiness of Society, we have sufficiently guarded the rights of Conscience from every possible infringement." [1] But many towns which agreed with the first clause of this statement, joined Raynham in dissenting from the second. Article III is "very ambiguously expressed," said Grafton. Andover cast its 181 votes against the article on account of the obscurity of the fourth paragraph.[2] It "means anything or everything, or really intends nothing," said Middleborough. Dartmouth and Norton wished more explicit assurance that those who support public worship of their own, will not be obliged to pay for any other public teacher. Four hundred and twenty voters in Boston supported an amended article which provided that the religious taxes of whomsoever could not conscientiously attend any ministration in his neighborhood should be applied to the support of the poor.[3]

But the main opposition to Article III was directed against the principle of compulsory support for a religious establishment. This opposition was led by, though not confined to, the Baptists, who always have been and still are exponents of religious liberty in the widest sense of the word, and the absolute separation of church and state. The leader of the Baptists was the Reverend Isaac Backus, of Middleborough.

This man was one of the most remarkable New Englanders of the Revolutionary period. Born in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1724, he was one of those who took fire when George White-

[1] *Journal of the Convention*, 218. W. C. Webster, in *Annals Am. Acad. Pol. & Soc. Sci.*, IX. 387, notes that "a striking contrast between facts and pretensions" characterized the religious clauses in almost every revolutionary constitution.

[2] Town Records, MS. It will be understood that all references in the future to town returns will be to vols. CCLXXVI and CCLXXVII of the Mass. Archives, unless a different reference is made.

[3] Suggested probably by Article XXXIII of the Maryland Declaration of Rights.

field, "like a live coal from God's own altar," swept through the colonies. In 1748 he became pastor of a Congregational church in Middleborough. Like many of the New Lights converted by Whitefield he turned Baptist; and under his influence Middleborough became the leading Baptist community in Massachusetts, with three churches and 400 members in 1784.[1] In 1772 he was elected Agent, or chief of the Warren Association, the annual meeting of Baptist church delegates in the state. From that time, and until his death in 1806, Backus was the principal exponent in Massachusetts of the separation of Church and State. Hardly a year passed without one or more pamphlets, newspaper communications, or petitions to the General Court on this subject appearing from his pen. He was also prolific in sermons on theological subjects, an industrious itinerant preacher, and the historian of his sect. In 1780, besides leading the attack on Article III of the Constitution, he travelled 1918 miles outside of his parish, preached 248 sermons, and employed what leisure remained on the second volume of his *History of New England, with particular reference to the Denomination of Christians called Baptists*. His memory has been kept green by his own town and sect; but no one of the four principal histories of New England and Massachusetts even mentions the name of this remarkable man, at once a worthy successor of Roger Williams, and a historian who ranks with Belknap and Minot.[2]

At the beginning of the Revolution the status of Baptists was regulated by a Province law of 1770. This act exempted them from religious taxes upon giving certificates to their town assessors, signed by their minister and three other Baptists, that they regularly and conscientiously attended Baptist worship.[3] Though more tolerant than earlier legislation, this act

[1] List of Baptist churches in New England, in Backus, *Church History* (1784 ed.), II. 420. South Brimfield had the second largest number of Baptists in Massachusetts, and Boston was third, with 201 members. A Baptist revival was going on in the spring of 1780, eleven new churches being organized in the state. Cf. Backus's account of Middleborough, in 1 *Collections*, III. 151.

[2] Alvah Hovey, *A Memoir of the Life and Times of the Rev. Isaac Backus, A. M.*, Boston, 1858. Rev. Dennis B. Ford, *Historical Discourse on the Dedication of the Backus Monument at North Middleborough*, Boston, 1893. His Diary and Itineraries are preserved in the library of the Backus Historical Society, at Ford Hall, Boston.

[3] Hovey, *Backus*, 180.

did nothing to relieve isolated Baptists who could attend no meeting of their denomination, nor did it fully protect against local tyranny and intolerance those who fully complied with the law. Three such were arrested for ministerial taxes in Chelmsford in January, 1773, and confined in Concord jail, although one was infirm, another the sole support of his family, and the third over eighty years old.[1] Some of the more conscientious brethren refused to fill out the exemption certificates required by law, deeming such an act "an implicit acknowledgement of a power assumed by man, which in reality belongs to God."[2] So Backus and his followers continued to fight for the

[1] Hovey, *Backus*, 183; Backus, *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty, against the Oppression of the Present Day* (Boston, 1773), 42. For other cases of persecution, see Hovey, 184, 197–99, 218–20, and Backus, *Church History*, II. chap. xv.

[2] Backus, *Government and Liberty Described, and Ecclesiastical Tyranny Exposed* (Boston, 1778), p. 15.

There is a satirical poem on the subject in the *Independent Chronicle*, February 26, 1778:

"Religion should be well supported,
With arms and constables escorted;
Let *human* and *divine* be blended,
And priestly dignity extended.
Let hereticks no more presume,
To fault our *creed*, or read our doom: —

. . . . . .

Let *prisons*, *halters*, *tests*, and *axes*,
Secure our Parsons yearly taxes: —
When once they cease to be extorted,
I'm sure the glory is departed.
Shall ev'ry clownish fellow chuse,
What priest he'll hear, what prayer he'll use?
And justify such independence?
And on his neighbours faith pass sentence?
If such refuse to bring the paper,
If *baptist*, *sep'ratist*, or *quaker*,
They quickly shall to prison caper.

. . . . . .

Ye *Senators* both *wise* and *great*,
Who guard *religion* and the *state;*
Behold these hereticks increase!
Refuse to pay the goodly fleece,
To constable, to pope or priest.
Certificates they will not bring,
Nor with us pray, nor hear, nor sing,
They will blow in the house of rimmon,
Nor make the least submission — hang 'em;

principle of voluntary support, which had always prevailed by exception in Boston, and was finally adopted by Massachusetts, as well as every state in the Union.[1] He pointed out that the Baptists were being taxed without representation. He appealed to the sense of fairness of the orthodox clergy, who had unanimously denied the right of the British Government to tax New Englanders for the Anglican Church, quoting Chauncy's reply to Chandler: "It does not appear to us that God has entrusted the state with the right to make religious establishments." [2] But nations at war in defence of political or religious liberty are seldom tolerant to their own minorities. Mr. Backus's arguments were unanswerable, so he was accused of being a Tory.

All efforts to secure religious liberty from the General Court of Massachusetts being unavailing, Isaac Backus visited Philadelphia in September, 1774, in order to enlist the influence of the Continental Congress in behalf of his sect. On October 14 there was a memorable public conference in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, between Backus, supported by a delegation of Rhode Island Baptists and Pennsylvania Quakers, and the Massachusetts delegates to Congress, John and Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine. A memorial of the Massachusetts Baptists, reciting their oppressions,[3] was read, and a prominent Philadelphia Quaker remarked that the intolerance of Massachusetts was a bar to the union of the colonies. John Adams, suspecting a pacifist Quaker plot to discredit the radical Bay delegates, attempted to browbeat Mr. Backus, deprecated the Massachusetts establishment as

> Teach them to sing the tune pecavi,
> Or baste them well with wholesome gravy.
> Describe the awful doom before 'em,
> And to the mother-church restore 'em,
> By malleus haereticorum.
>
> PIERRE DE CASTELNAU.

[1] In his appeal to the General Court of December 2, 1774, Backus concludes: "If any ask what we would have, we answer: only allow us freely to enjoy the religious liberty that they do in Boston, and we ask no more." Hovey, 221. The Boston Churches were supported by assessments on pew owners only. The last clause of the first paragraph of Article III permitted this system to be adopted in any parish that so desired. The first outside Boston to do so was the Second Parish in Worcester, in 1785. Buck, *Mass. Eccl. Law*, 38–39.

[2] Hovey, 234.

[3] *Ib.*, 204.

"a very slender one," and insinuated that all complaints came from enthusiasts and would-be martyrs. He characteristically told the exponents of religious liberty that they might as well expect a change in the solar system as in the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts. Paine said there was nothing of conscience in the matter, it was only a contending about paying a little money. The conference closed by Adams and his colleagues promising to do what they could for the relief of the Baptists. They evidently considered their promise fulfilled by securing a resolve from the Provincial Congress at Cambridge, on December 9, 1774, inviting the Baptists to lay their grievances before the first regular legislature. Paine and Samuel Adams, it will be remembered, were on the committee that drafted Article III of the Declaration of Rights; and Backus accuses Paine and the other Adams of misrepresenting the purpose of his journey to Philadelphia, in order to discredit the Baptists in the Convention.[1]

Joseph Hawley, the only political leader of Revolutionary Massachusetts whose religious views were broad and tolerant, made every effort to get a bill through the General Court to disestablish the Congregational churches, but could not get it to a vote. The old system continued; the constitutional Convention of 1779–80 proposed to make it fundamental law. Isaac Backus lost no time in attacking Article III of the Declaration of Rights. Within a week of its adoption by the Convention he fired the first gun of the campaign, a letter that appeared in the *Independent Chronicle* for December 2, 1779, and in pamphlet form.[2] In the spring after the Convention had adjourned, he published the only other pamphlet of the campaign; and in September the State Baptist Association issued the broadside petition, here reproduced in facsimile.[3]

[1] Hovey, chap. xv (based on Backus's diary), and pp. 221–23; Diary of John Adams in his *Works*, II. 397–400; *Independent Chronicle*, December 2, 1779; Backus, *Government and Liberty described*. The Baptist leader believed that Paine spread a report that he really went to Philadelphia in order to prevent a union of the Colonies. As judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1792, Paine laughed out of court a member of Trinity Church, Lenox, who sought recovery of taxes assessed upon him for building a new meeting house in Pittsfield. *Berkshire Historical Collections*, I. 202.

[2] *Policy, as well as Honesty, forbids the use of Secular Force in Religious Affairs.* Boston, 1779, 26. Copy in Amer. Antiq. Society.

[3] Hovey, 240–41. Backus's own account of the constitutional controversy will be found in his *Church History* (1784), II. 328–33.

To the General Court of the Maſſachuſetts, aſſembled at Boſton, Oct. 1780.

WE whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, inhabitants of this State, who are twenty-one years of age and above, of various religious denominations, enter our PROTEST againſt the power claimed in the third article of the declaration of Rights in the new plan of Government now introduced among us,---for the reaſons following, viz.

Firſt, Becauſe it aſſerts a right in the people to give away a power they never had themſelves; for no man has a right to judge for others in religious matters; yet this article would give the majority of each town and pariſh the excluſive right of covenanting for the reſt with religious teachers and ſo of excluding the minority from the Liberty of chooſing for themſelves in that reſpect.

Second, Becauſe this power is given entirely into the hands of men who vote only by virtue of *money* qualifications; without any regard to the Church of Chriſt.

Third, Becauſe ſaid article contradicts itſelf; for it promiſes *equal* protection of all ſects, with an exemption from any ſubordination of one religious denomination to another; when it is impoſſible for the majority of any community to govern in any affair, unleſs the minority are in ſubordination to them in that affair.

Fourth, Becauſe by this article the civil power is called to judge whether perſons can conveniently and conſcientiouſly attend upon any teacher within their reach, and to oblige each one to ſupport ſuch teachers as may be contrary to his conſcience; which is ſubverſive of the unalienable rights of conſcience.

Fifth, Becauſe, as the Convention ſay, "Power without any reſtraint is tyranny," which they explain as meaning the union of the Legiſlative, Executive, and Judicial Powers of government in the ſame hands; and it is evident that theſe powers are all united in the Legiſlature, who by this article are empowered to compel both civil and religious Societies to make, what they ſhall judge to be, *ſuitable proviſion* for religious teachers "in all caſes where *ſuch proviſion* ſhall not be made voluntarily."

Before this, the controversy had got out of the hands of the Baptist leaders. The publication that seems to have had the greatest influence on the town meetings was a series of articles in the *Independent Chronicle*,[1] by a member of the Convention who signed himself "Philanthropos." The shrapnel of this gentleman's logic did much better execution than the old-fashioned round shots of the Rev. Isaac Backus. Beginning with the opening section of Article III, he pointed out that the Greeks and Romans had maintained very creditable civil governments without the aid of the orthodox "piety, religion and morality" of Massachusetts Bay. Not a clause of the article was left intact when he was through with it. Church and state had often been allied in the past, he pointed out, and the invariable result had been persecution by the civil authorities and spiritual decline. "Some persons will say, 'This writer means to set our churches all a-float.'" The Christian Church was very much afloat for three centuries after Christ, "and, thank God, floated to very good purpose." It was only after Christianity became a state religion that Christians began to persecute. If the New England orthodoxy cannot stand without state aid, the sooner it is set afloat the better.[2] And, not content with destructive criticism, Philanthropos proclaimed a positive principle of the relation of church and state — the principle that civil government has absolutely no right to intervene in religious affairs, whether by defining orthodoxy, punishing heresy, enforcing attendance at public worship, or taxing the citizens for its support. The following is his proposed substitute for Article III:

All men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to their own conscience and understanding; and no man ought, or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any ministry contrary to or against his own free will and consent. Nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God be justly deprived of any civil right as a citizen, on account of his religious sentiments, or peculiar mode of religious worship. And that no authority can or ought to be vested in, or assumed by any power whatsoever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner

[1] For March 2, 16, 23, April 6 and 13, 1780, and several later numbers.
[2] "Philanthropos," No. 5, in *Chronicle*, April 13, 1780.

controul the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship." [1]

The arguments of Philanthropos made a wide appeal. They are found in the returns of towns as widely scattered as Boston,[2] Framingham,[3] Gorham (Maine),[4] Granville,[5] and New Providence in the northwest corner of the state. They were adopted alike in towns where Baptist influence was strong and in towns where a sufficiently liberal atmosphere prevailed among Congregationalists. At least two towns in Suffolk County, seven in Middlesex, six in Bristol, six in Worcester, and eight in Berkshire distinctly stated that their opposition to Article III was based on their belief that the interference of civil government in religious matters was contrary to the liberty of conscience and the Word of God. It was not until 1833 that enough voters adopted this viewpoint to supersede Article III by Amendment XI to the constitution, providing that religious societies might tax their members only with their express consent. Yet even the Amendment XI did not completely separate church and state in Massachusetts; nor, in the opinion of many, did the Amendment XVIII, forbidding public appropriations for sectarian schools. The time has not yet come when we can call the town of Gorham a false prophet for declaring, in its return of 1780, "It is now in the power of this state, and it may never be again, to prevent spiritual tyranny's taking place amongst us." [6]

The defenders of compulsory religious taxation were not silent. Philanthropos and Mr. Backus were answered in the press by a member of the Convention who signed himself "Iraeneus." [7] He agreed with the member who remarked in the course of the debates, "If there is no law to support religion, farewell meeting-houses, farewell ministers, and farewell all

[1] "Philanthropos," No. 5, in *Chronicle*, April 6, 1780.

[2] Not by the town, but by the minority of 140 who refused to accept Article III, even as amended by the town committee. This minority protest is printed in the *Boston Gazette*, May 22, 1780.

[3] Framingham sent in a copy of this protest, clipped from the *Gazette*, as conveying the objections of its minority.

[4] *Ib.*, June 12, 1780.

[5] Printed *infra*.

[6] *Boston Gazette*, June 12, 1780.

[7] *Chronicle*, February 10, 1780; *Continental Journal*, March 9, 23, April 6; *Independent Ledger*, April 17, 24, May 1, 8, 22, etc.

religions."[1] The principles of Philanthropos, he tells us, tend to promote "impiety, irreligion, and licentiousness." The opposition to Article III in the Convention was confined to "a certain junto, composed of disguised Tories, British emissaries, profane and licentious Deists, avaricious Worldlings, disaffected Sectaries, and furious blind bigots." Liberty of Conscience, indeed! The principle of voluntary contribution to divine worship would "deprive a respectable part of the people of this state of the privilege of discharging their duty to God in a way that they judge to be most agreeable to his will."[2] Many scriptural texts are found to authorize state aid, notably Isaiah xlix. 23: "and kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and their queens thy nursing mothers." The most reasonable argument in favor of the principle of compulsory support was that of the Boston committee report.[3] "Though we are not supporting the Kingdom of Christ, may we not be permitted to assist civil society by an adoption, and by the teaching of the best act of Morals that were ever offered to the World? . . . Suspend all provision for the inculcation of morality, religion and Piety, and confusion and every evil work may be justly dreaded; for it is found that with all the Restraints of Government enforced by Civil Law, the World is far from being as quiet an abode as might be wished."

Arguments such as these, presumably, influenced the majority of the towns that voted for Article III. And a small group of towns voted against it because it was not strict enough. Abington, Northbridge, and four others objected because the Puritan Sabbath was not embalmed in the constitution. Dunstable found Article III so general "as to give protection to idolatrous worshippers of the Church of Rome"; and eight voters in Brookline wished to return to the system of the seventeenth century, when all dissenters' estates were taxed for orthodox Congregational worship. Wilmington at first voted to confine liberty of conscience to Calvinists and Arminians, but thought better of it, and finally accepted the article as it stood.

In conclusion, Article III of the Declaration of Rights was

[1] *Independent Ledger*, April 17, and Supplement to *Continental Journal*, March 23.

[2] *Independent Ledger*, April 11, 1780.

[3] *Boston Record Commissioners*, XXVI. 134. Samuel Eliot, William Tudor, and Perez Morton were on this committee.

opposed by three distinct classes of opinion: (1) by those who accepted the principle of state support to the churches, but who wished the equality of sects to be more clearly defined and secured; (2) by those who wished the support of religious worship to be wholly voluntary, as subsequently prescribed by Amendment XI to the constitution; and (3) by a few who desired a greater strictness or narrowness than Article III promised to afford.[1]

4. Religious Qualifications for Office.

Closely allied with the relation of church and state was that of the question of religious qualifications for office. Chapter II, section I, Article II of the Frame of Government required that the Governor "shall declare himself to be of the Christian religion." Chapter VI, Article I prescribed a declaration of belief in the Christian religion for persons chosen governor, lieutenant-governor, counsellor, senator, or representative, and every elected or appointed official was required to take an oath of office which included a declaration "that no foreign prince, person, prelate," etc., had "any jurisdiction . . . ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this Commonwealth." This last oath does not appear in the John Adams draft, and was added by the Convention expressly in order to exclude ultramontane Catholics from office.[2] A great many towns, however, deemed it insufficient for that purpose; and a very common demand on their part was the addition of the word "Protestant" at some or all places in the constitution when the word "Christian" was mentioned. At least forty towns in Worcester and Hampshire counties voted to have this qualification added in Section I, Article II, or in Chapter VI, Article I, or in both places;[3] some even wished the "protection of the law" denied

[1] See *infra*, p. 411, the tabulation of the vote on Article III by counties, and a map of the vote by towns.

[2] Address of the Convention, *Journal*, 221. Cf. the oaths and tests required by other revolutionary constitutions (*Annals of Am. Acad. Pol. & Soc. Sci.*, IX. 3, 89).

[3] I have not tabulated the votes on this question, but suspect that more than a third of the voters were in favor of the governor, at least, being Protestant. There were probably not two hundred Catholics in the state in 1780. The first Roman Catholic governor of Massachusetts was the Hon. David Ignatius Walsh, elected in 1913.

to all but Protestants (Article III, last paragraph). Lexington sent in a long historical argument, with citations from Robertson's *Charles V*, against admitting Catholics to office; and Roxbury voted to have the word "Christian" qualified by "Protestant" wherever it appears in the constitution. "This seems to us necessary to secure the peace and tranquillity of the state, as well as to the promotion of that Religion which our venerable forefathers suffered everything but death, to establish." These Protestant principles of the towns were not justified by subsequent history, for Amendments VI and VII swept all religious tests and qualifications out of the constitution in 1821.

5. Other Articles of the Declaration of Rights.

There was very little objection from the towns to any other article of the Declaration of Rights except Article XVI, on the freedom of the press, and Article XXIX, on the tenure of judges. John Adams' original draft for Article XVI was badly emasculated by the Convention.[1] Boston town-meeting committed the result to three prominent members of the Convention, John Lowell, Ellis Gray, and Nathaniel Appleton. The substitute they reported was accepted by the town: "The Liberty of Speech and of the Press with respect to Publick men and their Publick Conduct and Publick Measures is essential to the Security of the Freedom of a State, and shall not therefore be restrained in this Commonwealth."[2] If this substitute had been adopted by the Convention, the state might have been spared some of its political libel suits during the Federalist period.

That part of Article XXIX which adopts the principle of permanent tenure and salary to the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, was objected to by a number of towns, especially in the western part of the state and the Old Colony. "We don't see that it is any Right or advantage for Officers to be so Independent as there expressed, but a disadvantage," said Sutton. The annual granting or withholding of salaries had been the favorite method of bringing political pressure to bear

[1] *Works of John Adams*, IV. 227.

[2] *Boston Record Commissioners*, XXVI. 127, 128. Milton, Eastham, Westford, and a few other towns took similar action.

on the judiciary during the Provincial period, and the objectors saw no reason why they should give up this privilege. They also desired that annual, quinquennial, or septennial terms be substituted for tenure during good behavior. Shelburne wished the judges to be appointed annually by the legislature, and Adams, Shutesbury, and Wilbraham voted for annual election by the people. But the dissenters to Article XXIX were in a small minority.

Four or five towns demanded additional articles in the Declaration of Rights, such as continuing the usual method of selecting juries, and guaranteeing the free use of the Bible (Charlton). Petersham proffers the unique criticism that no effectual provision is made against the slave trade. But on the whole, the Declaration of Rights, apart from Article III, was the most popular part of the constitution.

6. Separation of Powers, or Legislative Supremacy.

It cannot be too often insisted upon that the American people during the Revolution were steeped in the negative political theory of natural rights. The people, the source of all power, must delegate only so much of it as is necessary for the preservation of life, liberty, and property. The tendency of rulers to tyrannize is the greatest danger to guard against. Locke, the colonists' political Bible, encouraged a trust in legislatures rather than executives. "The first and fundamental positive law of all commonwealths is the establishment of the legislative power." "In a constituted commonwealth . . . there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative, to which all the rest are and must be subordinate." [1] So far as Massachusetts was concerned, this theory of legislative supremacy was justified by popular experience. During the Provincial period the House of Representatives had been the bulwark of colonial liberties against the royal executive; and it was only natural to wish to entrust power to a body, every member of which was elected in town meeting and subject to its instructions.

All the earlier revolutionary state constitutions reflected this prejudice in favor of the legislature. From a modern stand-

[1] *Second Treatise of Government*, chaps. xi and xiii.

point the Governor of Massachusetts seems unnecessarily checked and hampered. Yet John Hancock, in 1780, was the most powerful executive official on the continent. Pennsylvania had no governor, and in the other states which had adopted constitutions he was the creature of the legislature, elected by it in all save three, limited by some council or other body as to all his functions, having little appointive power and no veto whatsoever. The comparatively strong and independent position granted the Governor of Massachusetts by the constitution was the result of revolutionary experience with a government of the popular sort.

The practical politicians responsible for the constitution had learned much from the workings of Congress and the provisional state government.[1] Adams, Lowell, and Parsons were still fairly apprehensive of tyranny; but they were much more fearful of unrestrained democracy and anarchy, and most impatient of legislative inefficiency. "Vigor and despatch" was their favorite phrase. Hence, in the Massachusetts constitution, they substituted for legislative supremacy a bicameral legislature, a strong executive, and an independent judiciary, all duly separated and balanced. These fundamental principles were imposed on the Convention by John Adams and the future Essex Junto (Parsons, Lowell, Jackson, and Cabot) with some difficulty;[2] but the Convention seems to have been thoroughly converted. Its Address to its Constituents was an effort to turn the people at large from their habits of political thought; to persuade others that a separation of powers, and "checks and balances" would not only prevent tyranny, but promote governmental efficiency. The Address is a clear, succinct exposition of the same school of political thought that produced the Essex Result, the Federal Constitution, and the Federalist.

The Address did its work well. There is no doubt that a two-thirds majority was procured for the frame of govern-

[1] Which was practically a unicameral legislature. The House of Representatives elected the Council, which acted as upper house and executive board. The judges and other officials were appointed by joint ballot.

[2] Harry A. Cushing, *Transition*, 233–35; 235, note 3. The Address has been reprinted, I believe, only once, in the *Journal of the Convention*, 216–21. It was drafted by a committee of seven, of which Samuel Adams, Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, and James Sullivan were the most prominent members.

ment.[1] But the popular attachment to legislative supremacy, and suspicion of judicial and executive power, frequently crop out in the town returns. Rehoboth wants a government "similar to Hon. Continental Congress"; i. e., the Senate, the Executive, and all but the local officials to be elected by the House. Athol and Warwick work out in detail a scheme similar to the then existing government of Massachusetts: a unicameral legislature to elect a council of sixteen, to exercise most of the powers granted by the constitution to the Governor and Council, except the veto. Middleborough predicts that if the people are not allowed to elect all their officials, they will "groan under a government of the most venal and wretched set of villains." The veto power, to Oakham, smacks of monarchy; and Wilbraham, with unconscious sarcasm, urges "that the Chief Executive ought to be excluded a voice in Legislature as much as the Supream Judicial Judges." Westhampton points out the danger of letting the Governor appoint the officers of garrisons and of forts where munitions of war will be stored, as well as command the officers he appoints; for "wee may at some time be so unhappy as to have a Governor who may not ame at the Good of the Commonwealth." Pownalborough (Wiscasset, Me.) frankly prefers the existing form of government, "which the country was used to, and answered the Purposes both of internal Government and carrying on the war." Freetown is of the same opinion, and Swansea deems the old Province form "more pleasing to the People in General, and Particular to the Inhabitants of the Town Swanzey."

These demands for a unicameral legislature and plural executive were not due simply to prejudice and inertia, but to a suspicion, which was only too well founded, that the system of checks and balances would be used to defeat the popular will. Whether the old way would have been best after all is questionable; but the town of Newton suggested to the constitutional Convention of 1780 a new way, which will be the principal issue of the next constitutional Convention — the referendum: "That in case any Act of the General Court, as aforsaid, shall be adjudged by the People to be oppressive or contrary to their Freedom or Privileges, upon the application of the Selectmen of any Seven Towns of the Commonwealth, the Gen-

[1] Except Chapter VI, Article x, which does not properly belong to it.

eral Court shall issue Precepts to the several Towns and to the Assessors or Committees of the corporated Plantations, to convene the qualified Voters in their respective Towns and Plantations for the purpose of considering the said Law; — and if it shall appear that a majority of the People so assembled, shall be against the said Law, it shall be no longer in force." [1]

Wilbraham, in the dignified conclusion to its return, sums up the protest of all who clung to legislative supremacy:

"Hon[d] Sir, — We have stated our Objections and Given our Reasons. On the Whole, it appears to us that the Constitution in its Present form is Rather too Arbitrary. The People are now contending for Freedom — and we heartily wish they might not only obtain it — but keep it in their own Hands."

7. The House of Representatives.

No two subjects gave the Convention so much trouble as the basis of representation, and the organization of the House of Representatives. The problem was a three-cornered one; to reconcile the desire of the smallest town to send at least one member, with the right of the largest to have a proportional share, and yet keep the total number within a reasonable limit. Representation down to 1776 was regulated by a law of 1692, which allowed every town to send at least one representative, a town containing 120 voters to send two, and Boston to send four. The protests of the larger towns produced a new act on May 4, 1776, which gave towns an additional representative for every 100 voters over 220. This brought the House up to the unwieldy number of 260, double the largest Provincial House, and far too large for the Old State House.[2] We manage to get along today with a House of 240 members, although the state has more than ten-fold its population of 1776. The constitution of 1778 attempted to bring down the number by impairing the principle of equality, providing (Article VI) that the mean increasing number entitling a town to more than one representative should itself be increased by twenty for each additional representative. This was properly criticised in a

[1] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVII. f. 22. Offered as an amendment to Chapter I, Section I, Article II.

[2] Cushing, *Transition*, 203; James Savage, *Constitution of Mass.*, 6.

pamphlet more frequently extolled than read, the Essex Result of 1778,[1] which proposed to substitute a marvellously complicated system of filtering the representation through a series of county conventions, so that the total strength of the House would not exceed 100.[2]

The system adopted by the Convention of 1779–80 sacrificed size to equality. It differed only from the Act of May 4, 1776, in making ratable polls (freemen over sixteen with certain exemptions) the unit, instead of the number of voters. Every existing town having 150 or less ratable polls may elect one representative, and one more for every 225 additional ratable polls. No new town to be incorporated until it has at least 150.

The population of Massachusetts and the number of towns, especially in Maine, were increasing so fast that this ratio produced a very unwieldy House. As the General Court refused until 1811 to pay salaries to its members, the number was less than it might have been, but unequally distributed. "At one time the local interest, upon which great excitement was felt in Berkshire, which is equal to little more than a twentieth of the state, brings in here four times its just ratio of members, if the residue be counted. Six or eight sessions after, the troops of Bristol outnumber all those West of Middlesex."[3] An Act of 1811, paying representatives out of the public treasury, brought the total number the next session over seven hundred, or one for every thousand people. A similar ratio of representatives to population today would give us a House 3700 strong.

It was not hard, then, for the towns to pick flaws in Chapter I, Section III, Article II. Criticism was particularly rife in the west. The favorite objection in Worcester, Hampshire, and Berkshire was the unwieldy size of the House; the favorite remedy, the old system of 1692. Let every town have one member, a limited number two, and Boston four. Towns with two or three hundred souls demanded one quarter the weight

[1] *Result of the Convention of Delegates holden at Ipswich in the County of Essex, who were Deputed to take into consideration the Constitution and Form of Government proposed by the Convention of the State of Massachusetts-Bay.* Newburyport, 1778. It is reprinted in *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 359.

[2] *Ib.*, 390.

[3] Savage, *Constitution of Mass.*, 11.

of Boston, with ten thousand. A few communities were frank enough to reveal what the west really wanted — to fortify the agrarian against the mercantile interests of the seaboard. Greenwich said that "the Landage (*sic*) Intrest have not a Proper Weight," and Washington, that the inland towns ought to have the same number as the "Marchantile Towns."

Yet many fair and reasonable amendments were offered by the western towns. Some proposed to reduce the House by adopting a larger mean increasing number, which was done by Amendments XII (1836) and XIII (1840). Others wished to place the burden of representatives' salaries on the "public chest," not the towns; which was distinctly permitted by Amendment XXXV (1893). Mendon, Spencer, Sutton, and Bridgewater had the wisdom to suggest the basis of our final solution adopted in 1857 (Amendment XXI) — to divide the whole state into representative districts of equal voting strength.

The west also showed great dissatisfaction with the low quorum (sixty members) prescribed by Chapter I, Section III, Article IX. Boston alone was entitled to sixty representatives in the Eighteen-thirties. Four towns in Worcester County and two in Hampshire proposed the exact figure — 100 members — adopted by Amendment XXI in 1857; while Leverett looked 111 years ahead to Amendment XXXIII, "A majority of the members . . . shall constitute a quorum." [1]

The return of Worcester (printed below) gives the deliberate voice of western Massachusetts on this question of representation. Failure of the Convention to heed their demands, reasonable as well as unreasonable, was one cause of Shays' Rebellion.

8. The Senate and Council.

The sections of the constitution on the Senate and Council (Chapter I, Section II, and Chapter II, Section III), were a clumsy compromise between the Province system and the new principle of the separation of powers. Under the Province

[1] The constitution of 1778 also adopted 60 as the quorum for the House. The Essex Result said of this, "We stand amazed, and are sorry that any well disposed Americans were so inattentive to the consequences of such an arrangement." *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 385.

Charter, the General Court annually chose a Council of 28, which acted both as upper house of the legislature and executive council. The constitution provided that the people should annually elect forty "persons to be councillors and senators." At the first annual session of the General Court, nine of these were elected by the Senate and House on joint ballot to form the Governor's Council;[1] the remainder constituted the Senate. In other words, the legislative functions of the old Provincial Council were assigned to the Senate, the executive functions to the Governor's Council. The forty Senators and Councillors were apportioned among not less than thirteen senatorial districts, in proportion to the state tax paid by each. As the Convention's Address to its Constituents explained, "The House of Representatives is intended as the Representative of the Persons, and the Senate of the property of the Commonwealth."[2] The Senate of Massachusetts was created in order to protect property against democracy.

The towns which objected to this fundamental principle of our constitution demanded a unicameral legislature. Many that accepted the principle (including at least sixteen towns in Hampshire, and Worcester counties and six or eight elsewhere) insisted that the number of Councillors and Senators was too large. Several proposed the old figure, 28; and Southborough and a few others did not see why the same body could not continue to exercise both its former functions. The object of these remonstrants seems to have been simply to save expense.

9. The Franchise.

One of the least popular features of the constitution was the property qualification for voters. No man could vote for governor, senator or representative, unless the owner of a freehold estate within the Commonwealth of the annual value

[1] If any Councillor elect refused to serve, as most of them did when party feeling became intense, he could remain in the Senate, and any citizen of the state could be elected Councillor by the General Court to fill the vacancy.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, 218. The Essex Result has a long and interesting argument in favor of this principle. "The legislative body should be so constructed, that every law affecting property, shall have the consent of those who hold a majority of the property." *Memoir of Theophilus Parsons*, 376. Amendment XIII (1840) destroyed this system by apportioning the Senators according to population, and abolishing the property qualification for the position.

of three pounds, or any estate of the value of sixty pounds.[1] This qualification was fifty per cent higher than that of the Province Charter. The Convention's Address defended it on the ground that all citizens not so qualified "are either those who live upon a part of a Paternal estate, expecting the Fee thereof, who are just entering into business, or those whose Idleness of Life and profligacy of manners will forever bar them from acquiring and possessing Property . . . men who will pay less regard to the Rights of Property because they have nothing to lose." [2]

In spite of this gratuitous insult to the unpropertied classes, who had a right to vote on the constitution, the articles in question secured more than a two-thirds majority. An important section of the people formally consented to its own disfranchisement. Only a small minority vigorously dissented. Several towns protested against property qualification for any electorate. Stoughton insisted "The right of election is not only a civil; but it is a natural right, which ought to be considered as a principle corner stone in the foundation for the frame of Government to stand on." The remonstrants differed as to the exact qualification they would substitute. Some wished all resident adult male taxpayers to vote; others would require the selectmen to furnish a certificate of sobriety in life and conversation to prospective voters. Douglas asked that "all rational men above twenty-one years of age should have the privilege of voting for Governor, Senators, and Representatives; otherwise, all men cannot be said to be born free and equal." [3]

Many towns accepted a propertied electorate for the Governor and Senate, but strenuously opposed a similar qualification for voting for Representatives.[4] The distinction was apt, for the

[1] Chapter VI, Article III provided that all sums of money mentioned in the Constitution should be computed in silver, at 6*s*. 8*d*. per ounce. The currency mentioned was not sterling, but the theoretical standard of the New England colonies, "lawful money," six shillings of which were equivalent to one silver dollar. Three pounds, therefore, equalled ten dollars specie.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, 218.

[3] Cf. return of Boxford, *infra*, p. 403.

[4] The rejected constitution of 1778 had the same qualification as that of 1780 for voting for Governor and Senators; but "every male inhabitant of any town in this state, being free and twenty-one years of age, excepting Negroes, Indians and mulattoes, shall be entitled to vote for a Representative." (Article v.) Even the *Essex Result* proposed male suffrage for Representatives.

House was supposed to represent the persons, and the Senate the property of the state; and all men above sixteen years were liable to taxation. The most lengthy and eloquent remonstrance on this subject came from the Northampton town meeting, influenced probably by the liberal genius of Joseph Hawley. Northampton does not "object a word against the owners of property choosing one entire branch of the legislature. . . . But pray, Gentlemen, shall not the polls, the persons of the state, have some weight also . . . ?"[1] The ancient and wealthy town of Dorchester proposed unanimously "That every Person that is free and 21 years of age vote for a Representative, having estate or not." Its argument in favor of this amendment follows:

> This Amendment was made upon the strongest Persuation that the Article as proposed by the Convention, infringes upon the Rights and Liberties of a number of usefull and respectable members of Society; which number we believe is daily increasing and possibly may increase in such proportion that one half the People of this Commonwealth will have no Choice in any Branch of the General Court, and who are at the same time liable (by the 4th Article of Chapter 1st, Section first) to pay such a proportion of the Publick Taxes as they should Judge reasonable; and the members of the said Court being all men of Considerable Property, may be induced to lay too great a proportion on the Polls, and by that means ease their Estates and bring a heavy burden on those who have no power to remove it. And being fully convinced that Taxation and Representation ought to be inseparable, and that the Property and Estates of the People will be sufficiently guarded by the Senate who represent the same, we see no Reason of sufficient weight to Debar any Person Qualified as in the article amended provides, from Voting in Choice of Representatives.

Dorchester's and Northampton's prophecy that a greater proportion of taxation would be placed on the polls, turned out to be correct. The proportion of the state tax raised by poll taxes rose from 30 per cent in 1778 to 40 per cent in 1786 — one of the many acts of injustice that helped bring on Shays' Rebellion.[2]

[1] Northampton's return on this subject is printed *infra*, p. 408.

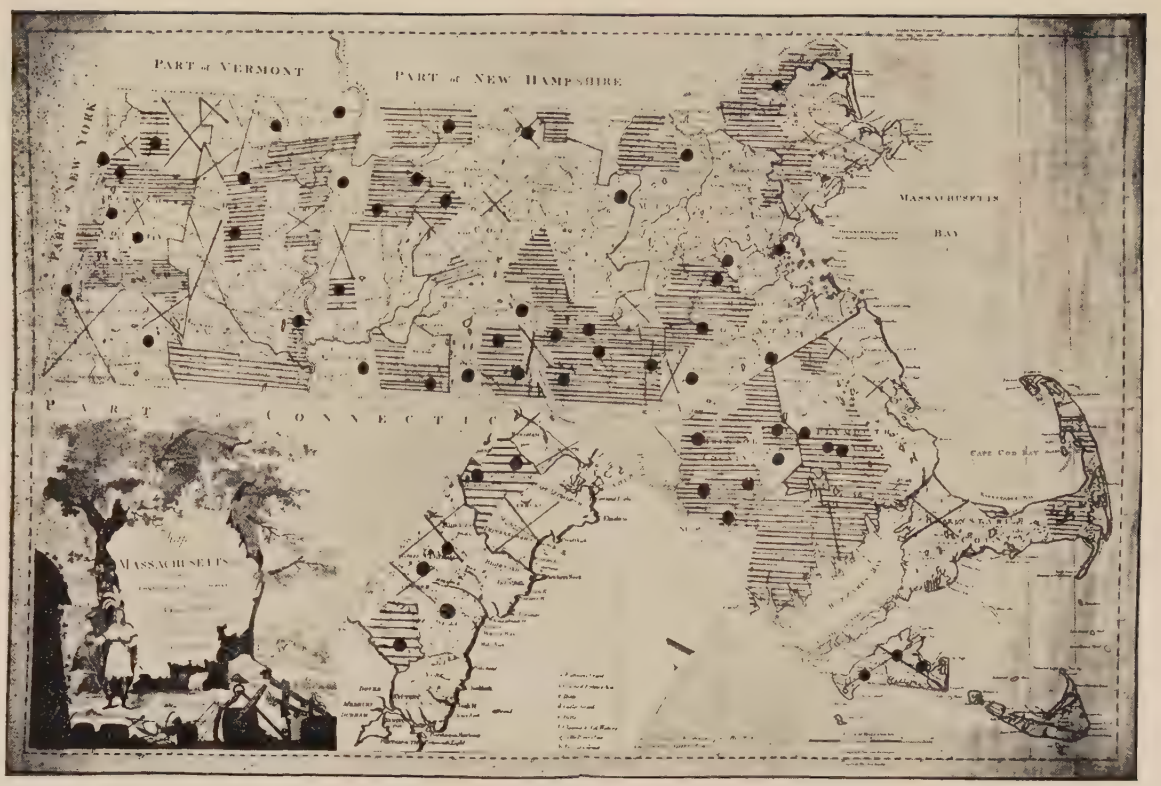
[2] Dr. H. H. Burbank, *The General Property Tax in Mass.*, 1775–1792 (MS. thesis in Harvard College Library).

A few towns protested against the property qualification for holding the principal elective offices, and the power given the General Court by Chapter VI, Article III, to raise, but not to lower, these qualifications. Petersham insisted that "Riches and Dignity neither make the head wiser nor the heart better. The overgrown Rich we think the most Dangerous to the Liberties of a Free State, and we object against a Discretionary power in the General Court to alter such Qualifications in Future." Groton pointed out that this last power might result in requiring so large a property for a representative that some towns would have no qualified resident to elect.

10. The Judiciary.

A number of towns expressed their dislike of an independent judiciary by voting against Article XXIX of the Declaration of Rights, or by demanding elsewhere that judges be elected by the House of Representatives or the people. Others, especially in the three western counties, directed their objections against various articles in Chapter III. Southwick and four other towns in Hampshire County; Leominster and Douglas in Worcester County; and Barnstable, wished the Justices of the Peace elected by the people.[1] New Braintree and three other Worcester towns, and Pelham and Colrain wished the Justices of the Peace commissioned by the Governor (by the House, said Dudley), on the nomination of the towns. Two or three proposed that sheriffs be similarly elected. Very popular in the west was an amendment to the effect that a Judge of Probate be elected by, and a registry of deeds located in, every town, in order to save the trouble and expense of recording wills and land titles at the county seat. Seventeen towns in the western counties, and at least seven in the rest of the state, made one or both of these demands. They were not new; in 1776 they had provoked John Adams' outburst regarding wild innovations (in the same week that he served on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence): "The projects of county assemblies, town registers, and town probates of wills are founded in narrow notions, sordid stinginess, and profound

[1] Pittsfield demanded this as early as December, 1775, and repeated the demand in the instructions to its delegate at the Convention.



VOTE ON ARTICLE III OF THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, 1780.

Blank — Towns that voted in favor.
Shaded — Towns that voted against.
● — Baptist Churches in 1780.

☒ — Towns from which no expression of opinion has been obtainable (unorganized in 1780; took no action; records destroyed; return ambiguous or made too late; no return in archives and no information obtainable from town clerk).

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ignorance, and tend directly to barbarism." [1] Ten years later, they were fighting issues in a portion of the state that John Adams represented.

11. Amendment of the Constitution.

No provision for future amendment of the constitution was contained in John Adams' draft. A committee appointed by the Convention [2] to consider the subject reported, on March 1, in favor of holding a new constitutional convention in 1800. The Convention amended this report by adding the clause, "If it shall appear that a majority of the *whole numbers of the inhabitants* shall be in favor of such a revision." This would have prevented a new convention as effectually as the recall of a Mayor of Boston is prevented today. The attention of Messrs. Sullivan, Paine, Parsons, and Lowell being called to this "joker," they secured a reconsideration, and the article was recommitted to Dr. Jarvis of Boston, Rev. Jason Haven of Dedham, and Judge David Sewall of York. Their report was adopted as Article X of Chapter VI. In the year 1795 the "qualified voters" will consider the question of calling a new convention, which shall be held if two-thirds of those voting are in favor.[3]

This article received the least favorable vote in the town meetings of any part of the Frame of Government, in spite of its place at the very end of the constitution. Opposition was confined to no particular section. "We think a convention ought to be made certain in the year 1795," said Roxbury, "in order that mistakes and errors which the wisest Bodies of Men are liable to, may be rectified and corrected; and if it should be necessary, that the people might recur to the first principles in a Regular Way, without hazarding a Revolution in the Government." But almost every town had a different amendment to propose. Some wished a convention summoned

[1] 5 *Collections*, IV. 310. Yet these projects prevailed in Connecticut. Every town clerk's office in that colony and state was a registry of deeds, and there were 28 Courts of Probate, which could be held in any one of the towns that composed the district. *Acts and Laws of the State of Connecticut* (1796), 132, 416.

[2] February 24, 1780; *Journal of the Convention*, 134. Its members were Samuel Adams, Dr. Charles Jarvis, and Walter Spooner of Dartmouth.

[3] *Journal of the Convention*, 156, 159, 161, 162; letter of Dr. William Gordon in the *Independent Chronicle*, June 8, 1780.

earlier than 1795; others proposed to take a vote on the question within five, seven, or ten years. Chesterfield wished the town meetings to exercise a power similar to that of the Council of Censors in Vermont; Andover desired the same broad electorate of 1779 and 1780 to vote on the constitutional question in 1795.[1] Bellingham demanded a requirement that every ten years the people should choose delegates to a constitutional convention to meet at Concord on the last Wednesday in September at 10 A.M. Dr. William Gordon, in a letter to the *Independent Chronicle*,[2] stated that he would favor the constitution, in spite of its defects, were a revision only certain in 1795. The tabulation of the vote on this article suggests that a strong minority of the people agreed with him.

12. Miscellaneous Objections.

The main features of the constitution that met with opposition from the towns have been stated. A few others, not so essential, provoked more or less dissent. Seven towns in Berkshire, fourteen in Hampshire, and four elsewhere wished the captains and subalterns of the militia elected by all members of their companies, or by those sixteen years of age and over, instead of simply by the adult members, as prescribed by Chapter II, Section I, Article X. "Youths will be more tractable under officers of their own choice," explained Douglas. The popular demand for such an alteration evidently increased, for it was adopted as Amendment V in 1821. Newburyport and three towns in southwestern Maine (York, Wells, and Biddeford) proposed an amendment in the better direction, that all militia officers be appointed by the Governor, to avoid company politics.[3] They also argued in favor of giving the Governor a full veto, as the "sole representative of the whole Commonwealth" against local and special interests.

A Boston committee consisting of John Lowell, Ellis Gray, and Nathaniel Appleton reported, and the town adopted, an amendment to Chapter VI, Article VII, on the writ of Habeas Corpus. In their opinion this safeguard of personal liberty

[1] MS. town records. Scituate, Acton, and Lexington concurred.

[2] May 4, 1780.

[3] Pittsfield had proposed the principle of the popular amendment in December, 1775; the Essex Result was in favor of appointment by the Governor.

should only be suspended in time of war, invasion, or rebellion, and then for no longer than six months.[1] About twenty towns, all of them east of the Connecticut River, followed Boston's suggestion.

Nearly the same number wished ministers of the gospel, and all others exempted from paying the poll tax, included among those disqualified for election to the General Court by Chapter VI, Article III. Westhampton declared, "We humbly conceive that it is no more agreable to the Scripture for a Minister of the Gospel to become a minister of State than it were for king Uziah to burn incense at the altar. Besides, wee might ad that it is not Consistant with freedom and Liberty for a Legislator to lay a tax on us in which he doth not tax him self, which is truly the case with regard to ministers, provided they pay no rates."

Rotation in office is not a principle we expect to find favored by citizens of wealth and substance. Yet Samuel Eliot and William Tudor were members of the Boston committee that proposed a five-year term for the Commissary General, "because it was apprehended that a change or rotation[2] was necessary in general to the Preservation of Freedom. Persons long in Office are apt to lose that sense of Dependence upon the People, which is essential to keep them within the Line of Duty to the Publick." Several towns followed Boston, as usual; and Middleborough suggested that no one hold office under the constitution for more than three years out of every five.

"No Body of Men has a Rite to Levy any Duty or Excise on the Produce of the Country or Manufactory of the Country Whatsoever," insisted the 38 voters of Washington, Berkshire County, in criticism of a power accorded the General Court in Chapter I, Section I, Article IV. This typical demand of western agrarianism was first suggested in 1780 by Cambridge town meeting.[3]

[1] *Boston Record Commissioners*, XXVI. 128.

[2] *Ib.*, 133, state "relation." Obviously a printer's error. Such limitations were usual in the revolutionary state constitutions.

[3] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVII. f. 5. Cambridge polled only three more votes than Washington. Worcester, Petersham, Leverett, Tyringham, and Freetown also voted against taxing produce, etc.; and an unpopular excise was one of the prominent complaints in 1786.

John Adams' favorite Chapter V, Section II, on "The Encouragement of Literature, etc.," did not wholly escape criticism. Sutton hoped it did not continue the ancient obligation for towns of a certain size to maintain grammar schools, which have proved "rather a stagnation to the learning of Youth than any preservation of it."

Petersham thought it "too much to give the Corporation of the University at Cambridge a Section of our Constitution. We are of the mind that it might with safety be left to the care of the Legislature and that it may be possible that the Legislature may find it necessary to Curtail that Rich and Growing Corporation lest it should Endanger the Liberties of the Commonwealth." But this corporation continued to grow to such good purpose that a century and a quarter later it acquired about 2000 acres of Petersham — the Harvard Forest. Another town inquired why, if the constitution protects the rights of the citizens, should Harvard College have special attention. West Springfield and Georgetown, Maine, demanded that other than Congregational ministers be elected to the Board of Overseers. New Salem objected to the professors and students being exempt from the poll tax. Bellingham proposed that the treasurer of the corporation publish an annual account of the funds and income of the college. This would have been most embarrassing to the late treasurer of the College, and first Governor of the Commonwealth.

III. THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE CONVENTION. JUNE 7–16, 1780.

1. The Tabulation of Returns.

The Constitutional Convention met for its fourth and last session in the meeting-house of the Brattle Street Church in Boston, on June 7, 1780. The journal records that twenty-seven new members took their seats, but no hint is given as to the total strength at this session.

A resolve of the Convention on March 2 had recommended the people to empower their delegates, at this final session, to agree upon a time when the constitution should go into effect, provided two-thirds of those voting accept it; otherwise, to

conform the constitution to the sentiment of two-thirds.[1] This authorization is omitted from perhaps half the town returns; but we may assume that it was given verbally to the other delegates. At any rate, the Convention proceeded at once to appoint a committee "to revise and arrange" the returns.[2] Whether intentional or not, the choice of the verb *revise* in preference to *canvass* or *tabulate* was well made.

Of the difficulty of correctly tabulating the town returns, varying as they did in form and substance, no one can have a keener appreciation than myself. Many are so obscurely worded as to defy analysis, and much painstaking labor is required to copy all the votes, where the returns are full and clear. One would expect to find a certain number of honest errors. But the committee adopted at the start such principles of counting that a two-thirds majority for every article was assured in advance.[3]

A number of objecting towns, apparently regarding themselves distinct bodies politic in their relation to the state, passed a vote to the effect that they would accept the constitution without their favorite amendments if two-thirds of the people so voted. Such action was wholly superfluous, being merely a promise to submit to the will of the majority.[4] The Convention certainly did not contemplate leaving outside the Commonwealth any town whose objections were not incorporated in the constitution. Yet the total number of votes for and against such a resolution, where it was made, were re-

[1] *Supra*, p. 362.

[2] *Journal of the Convention*, 170. The committee originally consisted of five members, but it was added to during the next few days, as the difficulty of the tabulation developed, until its total strength was 32 or 33. Eight were from Suffolk County, six each from Essex and Middlesex, two each from Hampshire, Worcester, Bristol, Plymouth, and York, and one each from Barnstable and Cumberland. Members from towns which voted against Article III of the Declaration of Rights, and Chapter VI, Article X, were included, though in a minority. George Cabot, Increase Sumner, and James Sullivan were the most prominent members of the committee.

[3] Unfortunately none of the more important committee reports alluded to by the journal of this session have been preserved. But in the same volumes with the town returns in the Mass. Archives are the original tabulations of the returns for all counties but two. From these, and from the preliminary report in the printed Journal, p. 172, and the "specimens" given on p. 176, it is possible to deduce the methods adopted by the committee.

[4] Such a vote was, however, urged by "Philopatriae" in the *Boston Gazette*, April 17, 1780.

corded in a separate column of the tabulation,[1] and added in with the total vote in favor of the constitution as it stood.[2]

Many, perhaps a majority of the towns, took no direct vote on such articles of the constitution as they objected to. After recording its objection, the meeting would appoint a committee to report an amended or substitute article, and vote on that. Obviously the affirmative side at least of such a vote should have been recorded against the original article. If a town voted 59 to 16 in favor of a new Article III, separating church and state, the 59 votes should have been added to those against Article III as it stood. Yet the committee, in some of its county tabulations, maintained one column for the yeas and nays on every article, and a separate column for the yeas and nays on "ditto amended." In other county tabulations these were thrown out altogether, or counted as if they had been taken on the original article.[3] The result was, that in computing the vote for a given article the returns of practically all the towns that opposed it were either counted in favor of it

[1] Groton, for instance, voted "that although the amendments proposed by the town appear to them to be of importance, yet as a Revision is soon to take place, this Town agrees that if two thirds of the male Inhabitants of this State qualified to vote on this subject, and who have assembled in Town Meeting including the Inhabitants of this Town voting herefor, shall agree to accept the Form of Government as compiled by the Convention, that in such Case the Convention shall appoint the time and provide measures for carrying the same into full exercise. Passed in the affirmative sixty nine against sixty Two." In the tabulation this vote is entered in a separate column headed "In case amendments do not take place," in which are also entered the votes of all towns approving the whole constitution as it stood. Mass. Archives, CCLXXVII. ff. 14, 123.

[2] This statement is warranted, I think, by the preliminary report made by the committee on June 8, on the return of 76 towns, not specified. "That in those Returns they find the number of Persons present and voting is 5776; — That the Number in favour [of] the Constitution without Amendments, and of such Constitution as two thirds of the persons voting thro' the State shall agree to, or the Convention shall form agreeably to the Sentiment of two thirds, even though the Amendments proposed should not be obtained, they find to be 4564, — but that several towns have returned their acceptance of the Constitution with certain amendments and have not determined whether they would accept it in case their proposed amendments did not obtain, upon which they desire the opinion of the Convention, whether they may take the sense of those towns from their delegates . . . " The Convention refused this desired permission to the committee. *Journal of the Convention*, 172, 173.

[3] In the Hampshire County tabulation, for instance, the votes of South Brimfield, Chesterfield, Hatfield, Monson, Shelburn, Shutesbury, Southwick, Warwick, and West Springfield in favor of an amended Article III, are counted in favor of Article III as it stood.

or not counted at all.[1] No wonder, then, there appeared to be a two-thirds majority in favor of every article.[2]

2. The Ratification of the Constitution.

From June 8 to 15 little business was done by the Convention, while the committee was preparing its final report. This was submitted on the morning of the 15th. At the afternoon session the articles of the constitution were read in order, "and the following question put upon each, viz.: Is it your opinion that the people have accepted of this article? Which, upon every individual article, passed in the affirmative by a very great majority."

It was then voted "that the People of the State of Massachusetts Bay have accepted of the Constitution as it stood in the printed form, submitted to their revision by the Resolves of 2nd March last."[3]

[1] An extract from the specimen schedule submitted on June 12 (*Journal*, 176), will make this method clear:

Counties	In favor if amended		Dº if the amendments do not obtain		3rd Article Dec. Rights		Dº if am'n'd	
	pro	con						
Essex	49		1408	8	922	287	448	26

Harry A. Cushing, *Transition*, 274, says that the committee "were able to report the vote of 5654 for the Constitution, and 2047 against it." No such report was made, and the references Dr. Cushing gives for this statement show that he obtained these figures from the report of a committee of the House of Representatives on the vote on the question of calling a Convention, in the spring of 1779. Cf. *supra*, p. 246. Attention is called to this misstatement in a work otherwise valuable, as it has already misled other authorities.

[2] In addition, there are mistakes in the official tabulations too numerous to mention. For instance, the column for Chapter VI, Article X, in the Hampshire County tabulation is left blank in the space for the towns of Shutesbury, Greenwich, and Granby, all three of which voted against it. There is also a discrepancy between the number of returns reported and the number found in the Archives. The latter number is 188. This does not include the 15 returns (at least) from Essex County included in the committee's report of June 12, or four out of the five additional returns added on June 14 and 15. Yet the committee report of June 12 states that "174 towns have made returns." Over 200 had done so.

[3] Someone connected with the Convention, however, took it upon himself, without any formal action of the Convention authorizing it, to make certain corrections in the printed form submitted to the people, before its publication.

It remained only to determine when and how the constitution should go into effect. A resolve fixing the date as October 25, 1780, and arranging for the first election under the constitution was adopted. An engrossed copy was presented to the existing General Court by a committee of five, and 1800 copies printed in broadside form for distribution throughout the State. On the afternoon of June 16, 1780, after votes of thanks had been tendered President Bowdoin, Secretary Barrett, and the Brattle Street Society, the Convention closed with thanksgiving and prayer.

The writer is aware that at this late date, 137 years after the Convention of 1780, he who brings a charge of dishonesty against the "blessed deliberations of that venerable body" stands on uncertain ground. No such charge, so far as I know, was preferred against it at that time; even by those who, in their bitterness at certain provisions of the constitution, wished to overthrow it; even by the so-called rebels who followed Daniel Shays. The tabulation was done in full view of the Convention, which must have contained many members hostile to certain articles. Yet in view of the methods pursued by the "committee to revise and arrange the returns," in view of the actual returns themselves, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there was not a two-thirds majority for at least two articles of the constitution, and that the Convention deliberately juggled the returns in order to make it appear that there was.

The only explanation and excuse I can offer for such a procedure on the part of so respectable a body of men is the imperious necessity that existed for the speedy adoption of constitutional government. Over four years had elapsed since the machinery for securing a new constitution had first been put in motion. The serious situation of the Commonwealth in

In the Archives, CCLXXVI. f. 43, is a copy of the edition distributed to the towns, on the margin of which the town of South Brimfield made its returns. The South Brimfield matter has been erased, and marginal corrections made, all of which are incorporated in the "Revised and Corrected Edition" of the constitution issued in 1780, after the ratification. The changes were confined to corrections of spelling, except that in Article XV of the Declaration of Rights, "Trial by a jury," the "a" has been deleted; and in Chapter VI, Article II, the clause "within this state" is shifted from between "officers" and "viz." to its present position. Cf. the literal copy of the official MS. of the constitution, to be shortly printed for the use of the Convention of 1917.

the spring of 1780, in its political, military, and financial affairs, has already been described. The ship of state was drifting toward dangerous rocks. Only an efficient government, resting on a constitution that appeared to have popular sanction, could secure obedience to the law, a regular collection of taxes, and an honorable participation by Massachusetts in the war she had done so much to create. "Never was a good constitution more needed than at this juncture," wrote Samuel Adams on July 10.[1] Every article received at least a bare majority. No practical politician would cavil at the change of a few thousand votes to make it a two-thirds majority in such a crisis. That the Convention accomplished much good by a little wrong, few students of the Revolution will deny; but its action is one more illustration of the fact that right and wrong in history are not the same as legality and illegality.

The real significance of the struggle over the adoption of the constitution of Massachusetts lies in the conflict of opinion, and the victory of property over democracy that its adoption implied.

Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, in his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1914, said: "If I were called upon to select a single fact or enterprise which more nearly than any other single thing embraced the significance of the American Revolution, I should select — not Saratoga or the French alliance, or even the Declaration of Independence — I should choose the formation of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, and I should do so because that constitution rested upon the fully developed convention, the greatest institution of government which America has produced, the institution which answered, in itself, the problem of how men could make governments of their own free will . . ."[2] One might add, "And also because the plain people of the state, in town meeting assembled, were able to point out the principal flaws that time and experience would find in the constitution drafted by John Adams, and adopted by a Convention that included among its members Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell, George Cabot, and Robert Treat Paine."

[1] W. V. Wells, *Samuel Adams*, III. 103.
[2] *American Historical Review*, XX. 264.

State of Maſſachuſetts-Bay.

In CONVENTION, June 16, 1780.

WHEREAS, upon due Examination of the Returns made by the ſeveral Towns and Plantations within this State, it appears that more than Two-thirds of the Inhabitants thereof, who have voted on the ſame have expreſſed their Approbation of the Form of Government agreed upon by this Convention, and laid before them for their Conſideration, in Conformity to a Reſolve of the ſaid Convention of the Second Day of March laſt: THIS CONVENTION do hereupon declare the ſaid Form to be THE CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT eſtabliſhed by and for the Inhabitants of the State of *Maſſachuſetts-Bay*.

And as the ſaid Inhabitants have authoriſed and empowered this Convention to agree upon a Time when the ſame ſhall take Place: In Order that the good People of this State may have the Benefit thereof as ſoon as conveniently may be,

It is Reſolved, That the ſaid Conſtitution or Frame of Government ſhall take Place on the laſt Wedneſday in *October* next, and not before, for any Purpoſe, ſave only for that of making Elections agreeable to this Reſolution.

And the firſt General Court under the ſame ſhall be holden on the ſaid laſt Wedneſday in *October*, at the State-Houſe in *Boſton*, at Ten o'Clock in the Forenoon—And in Order thereto, there ſhall be a Meeting of the Inhabitants of each Town and Plantation in the ſeveral Counties within this State, legally warned and held, on the firſt Monday in *September* next, for the Purpoſe of electing a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Perſons for Councellors and Senators. And there ſhall alſo be a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Towns within this State, duly warned and held, ſometime in *October* next, and ten Days at the leaſt before the laſt Wedneſday in the ſame Month, for the Purpoſe of chuſing Repreſentatives to ſerve in the ſaid General Court. And the Selectmen are hereby enjoined to call ſuch Meetings, and to preſide at the ſame. And in all Elections, and in making, receiving and examining Returns, and in conducting the whole Buſineſs of organizing and eſtabliſhing the ſaid General Court, the ſame Rules are to be obſerved that are preſcribed in the Form of Government for making ſuch Elections, and for the conſtituting the firſt General Court; ſaving only the Difference of Times.

And it is further Reſolved, That SAMUEL BARRETT, Eſq; (Secretary to this Convention) do, on or before the Fifteenth Day of *July* next, cauſe printed Copies of this Reſolution to be ſent to the Selectmen of the ſeveral Towns, and the Aſſeſſors of the ſeveral Plantations aforeſaid; who are reſpectively to perform the Duties required by this Reſolution, and to make ſeaſonable and regular Returns of the Perſons elected to the ſeveral Offices herein mentioned, into the Secretary's Office of this State, agreeably to the Rules contained in the Form of Government above referred to.

In the Name, and purſuant to a Reſolution of the Convention,

JAMES BOWDOIN, Preſident.

Atteſt.
SAMUEL BARRETT, Sec'y.

[N. B. The Selectmen and Aſſeſſors, in the ſeveral Towns and Plantations to whom the above Copies ſhall be directed, are deſired to deliver One to each of their Delegates in the late Convention.]

APPENDIX.

Return of the Town of Boxford, Massachusetts, on the Constitution of 1780.[1]

At a Town Meeting held at the Meeting House in the first Parish in Boxford May 16: 1780. Majr Perley Representative

Majr Asa Perley chosen Moderator

Voted to choose a Committee to take under Consideration the form of Goverment sent out for the approbation of of the People and to report such Remarks and amendments as to them may appear proper.

Voted that Capt Jonathan Foster Capt Isaac Adams Capt John Robinson Dr William Hale and Thomas Perley Junr be a Committee for the above Purpose.

Then the Meeting was adjourned to the 30th Day of May Instant two O Clock afternoon.

May 30th the Town met according to Adjournment the Moderator being absent Capt Jonathan Foster was chosen in his Room.

The Committee appointed to consider of the Constitution made their Report as follows.

Boxford May 30: 1780

The Committee appointed to Inspet the Constitution beg leave to inform the Town that as far as we are able according to the Time We have had have endeavoured to Investigate the Constitution and point out the Errors and Shall lay before the Town our Objections and Remarks thereon

1st Objection as to the third Article in the Declaration of Rights is rather Obscure and ambiguous we therefore want some further explanation on said Article before we can accept it.

2nd Objection We object against the free Men of any Town or Plantation being excluded from giveing their Votes for the choice of a Representative, while they are subjected to pay their Proportion of State Taxes

[1] Copy from Town Records.

3rd The House of Representatives being intended as the Representative of the People we object against any Free Inhabitant 21 years of age being excluded from giveing his Vote in the choice of a Representative

4th We object that the Quorum of the House of Representatives is two small where the House consists of three or four hundred Members and where they are invested with Power to Levie Duties and Excises on all Wares Merchandise and Commodityes whatsoever

5th We object the Govenour simply acknowledgeing himself of the Christian Religion is not sufficient that he ought to declare himself a Protestant.

6th We object against the Legislature being invested with Power to alter the Qualifications of any Officer in the State whatever untill this Constitution shall be Revised

7th Objection fifteen years we think too long for this Constitution to stand we think eight years is long enough for the Constitution to stand.

1st Remark or addition that Settled Ministers of the Gospel shall not have a Right to a Seat in the Council Senate or House of Representatives.

2nd Remark that the House of Representatives shall at least once a month lay before their Constituents the several Votes that may be determined by yeas and Naies in said House that the People may be able to Judge who is Friends to their Country and who is not.

3 Remark that the Towns may have Authoety to recall their Representatives at any time when they shall act anything Inamical to the Liberties of this Common Wealth and to choose others to succeed them.

4th Remark that the House of Representatves be subjected to a Trial by Jury for any faillure of their Promises to the People of this Common Wealth.

By order of the Committee Jonathan Foster

After some debate upon the Constitution and Committees Report, the Town proceeded to act on other parts of the Warrant.

Then the Meeting was adjourned to Monday the 5th Day of June next two O Clock in the afternoon

Monday 5th of June 1780 the Town met according to adjournment proceeded to act upon the Constitution — the numbers Voteing for

and against each Article being taken by Yeas and Nays are as Follows:

PART THE FIRST

Art.	Yeas.	Nays
1	16	—
2	13	—
3	3	11
4	22	
5	14	
6	18	
7	22	
8	19	—
9	16	
10	20	
11	21	
12	22	
13	21	
14	13	
15	11	
16	22	
17	20	—
18	21	—
19	27	—
20	18	
21	17	
22	21	—
23	17	—
24	23	—
25	19	—
26	21	—
27	21	—
28	22	—
29	15	
30	14	—

CHAPTER II.
SECTION II

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	5	
2	5	
3	7	

PART THE SECOND the fraim of Goverment

Yeas. 19 Nays. —

CHAPTER I
SECTION I

Article	Yeas	Nays
1	14	
2	15	
3	17	
4	2	14

CHAPTER I.
SECTION II.

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	7	1
2	4	3
3	5	
4	7	
5	5	
6	8	
7	10	
8	9	
9	4	

CHAPTER II.
SECTION IV.

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	4	
2	2	

CHAPTER I
SECTION III

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	9	
2	—	11
3	12	
4	4	7
5	11	
6	5	
7	9	
8	2	1
9	—	18
10	7	
11	11	

CHAPTER II.
SECTION I.

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	11	
2	—	15
3	11	
4	6	
5	11	
6	8	
7	10	
8	5	
9	5	
10	12	
11	6	
12	7	
13	4	

CHAPTER V.

Art.		
1	—	
2		
3		

CHAPTER V.
SECTION II.

PART THE FIRST
CHAPTER II.
SECTION III.

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	3	
2	4	
3	4	
4	5	
5	4	
6	4	
7	3	

PART THE SECOND
CHAPTER III.

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	4	
2	5	
3	4	
4	1	
5	1	

CHAPTER IV.
Yeas 8. Nays —

CHAPTER VI.

Art.	Yeas	Nays
1	—	
2	—	—
3	—	—
4	—	—
5	—	—
6	—	—
7	—	—
8	—	—
9		
10	0	11
11	—	—

The Town accepted the Objections and Remarks reported by the Committee and passed the following Votes thereon
Voted to accept of the third Article in the Declaration of Rights when it is explained with proper Amendments
Voted that the Plantations who pay Publick Taxes and such Towns as may hereafter be incorporated haveing less than one hundred and fifty Rateable Poles ought to be allowed the Priveledge of coupleing themselves together till their Numbers amount to one hundred and fifty Rateable Poles and then have the Liberty of sending a Representative
Voted that two thirds of the House of Representatives and no less ought to constitute a Quorum for doing Business
Voted that the Constitution ought to be revised upon the expiration of five years from the time of its takeing place
Then the Meeting was disolved

RETURN OF THE TOWN OF GRANVILLE ON ARTICLE III OF THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS [1]

The Objection to the third Article is as follows. The Article Asserts that the People have a Right to invest their Legislature with a Power to interfere in Matters that properly belong to the Christian Church; after the most mature Consideration we are oblig'd to deny that any such Right is or can be invested in the Legislature; because.

1st Christ himself is the only Lord of Conscience & King & Law Giver in his Church. Teachers of Religion are Officers in his

[1] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVI. f. 49.

Kingdom, qualified & sent by him, for whose Maintenance he hath made sufficient Provision, by the Laws which belong to his own Kingdom. Therefore no supplementary Laws of human Legislatures are necessary.

2nd The interference of the Magistrate in Matters that belong to the Christian Church, is, in our View an Incroachment on the Kingly Office of Jesus Christ, who stands in no need of the help of any civil Legislature whatever; consequently is an Affront to him.

3rd The interference of the Civil Magistrate in Matters that belong to Christ & Conscience, ever has been, and ever will be productive of Oppression to Mankind. There could be no persecution if the civil Magistrate did not support the Power & Cruelty of Men of narrow & ambitious Minds.

4th True Religion has evidently declined & been currupted by the interference of Statesmen & Politicians. Church History proves this to have been the Case from the Days of Constantine down to our own Day.

RETURN OF WORCESTER, ON THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES[1]

Chapter 1st Section 3d House of Representatives

Article 1st 50 for the Article 6. Silent upon the Question.

2d Rejected Unanimously 57 present — for the following Reasons It is calculated for forming a most unwieldy legislative body. In process of time should the probable degree of population take place the house of Representatives will be so numerous that the dispatch of business will be greatly retarded, & such languor in legislation produced as will, in a great measure, defeat the design of the political existence of the Assembly. For it is well known that Great bodies move slowly. If the proposed mode is established there will be a continued Jealousy in the minds of the people: as a very few of the most populous Towns will have it in their power to constitute a Quorum of the house of Representatives, & being near the State house (should the place of Assembly be & continue in the present Capital of the State) their Members can easily & constantly attend, while those at a distance from their local Situation & many other Causes, be unavoidably absent at the opening or close of a Session whereby in a thin house Laws might be passed which would not be calculated for the General Good.

The following Amendment afterwards passed 24 for 21 against it

That the mode of Representation should be set & established in the

[1] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVII. ff. 71, 120.

Constitution in the same way as Elections in the now State were practised & had according to Law in the year 1774. & that the two last paragraphs in this Article be & remain as proposed by the Honorable Convention with this Alteration viz. That the Members of the house of Representatives receive their pay & expences out of the publick Treasury as well for their Attendance as their Travel, & this because we apprehend that Each Member of said house is the Representative of the whole State & not meerly of the Corporation by which he is elected.

RETURN OF NORTHAMPTON ON THE FRANCHISE.[1]

Will any one stand forth and say, that persons who have been born within the state, and have always lived in it, till they have arrived to the age of twenty one years, perhaps much above that age, and who have always paid their poll tax, ever since they were sixteen years old, and are still rateable, and are rated and pay for their polls, the sum set on each poll, in every rate that is made for defraying either the continental State, or town charges, be the same higher or lower; we say, will any one affirm, that such persons are not citizens of the Commonwealth? Is not the consequence then, if the said paragraph is true, that an association of many individuals, of the State, which without consent totally excludes many such adult male persons, from any participation in the appointment of the legislature, is in fact no constitution, and does not make a body politick? yea, is it not absolutely a void business? As to what may be replied, by way of answer in behalf of infants, that is, persons under the age of twenty one years, we ask leave to refer to what Mr Locke has most judiciously said, on that head, in the sixth chapter of the second book of his treatise of Governments, intitled paternal power; which is much too lengthy to be recited on this occasion, but well deserving to be resorted to. And as to the case of women, of whatever age or condition they may be, we ask leave to refer to what is very sensibly, as well as genteelly said on the subject, in the twenty ninth page of the Essex result.

. . . . . .

Dont we know that whenever any mention is made of a tax act, or proposal in the legislature of taxation, it is always spoken of as a tax on polls and estates; that whenever a list is ordered for the purpose of a new valuation, an exact account is directed to be taken of the number of polls above the age of sixteen years in the several towns in this state; and that when the house or their Comittee are

[1] Mass. Archives, CCLXXVI. f. 58.

settling a valuation, the first business always is to fix the proportion of a single poll to a thousand pound; and dont we know that the owners of large property, generally, upon such occasions, strive to get the polls share as high as they can; for they are fully sensible, that it is their interest, that the polls share should not be low, for the higher that is, the less will remain on the estates; and they conduct in the cases accordingly. Now do we hear from these poor polls, a single objection, against the persons who are owners of large property, their voting for the members of the house of representatives? they consider that such property-holders have personal interests and concerns as well as the poor day laborer; further, do they object a word against the owners of the property chusing one entire branch of the legislature, exclusive of themselves, to be guardians of such property? they feel and own the force of the argument for property's having great weight in the legislature, because property ever was, and ever will be, the subject of legislation and taxation. But pray Gentlemen, shall not the polls, the persons of the state, have some weight also, who will also always be the subjects of legislation and taxation? Are life, members, and liberty of no value or consideration? Indeed Gentlemen we are shocked at the thought, that the persons of adult men, should, like live stock and dead chattels, be brought to account to augment the capital whereon to draw representatives for particular towns, in the same manner as such chattels are to be brought into the property capitals to augment the number of senators, and when they have been improved and made the most of that may be for that purpose, they should be wholly sunk and discarded not to say like villains but absolutely like brute beasts. Shall these poor adult persons who are always to be taxed as high as our men of property shall prevail to have them set, and their low pittances of day wages, be taken to lighten the burden on property, shall these poor polls who have gone for us into the greatest perils, and undergone infinite fatigues in the present war to rescue us from slavery, and had a great hand, under God, in working out the great salvation in our land, which is, in a great degree wrought out, some of them leaving at home their poor families, to endure the sufferings of hunger and nakedness, shall they now be treated by us like villains and African slaves? God forbid. What have they done to forfeit this right of participating in the choice of one branch of the two branches which are to constitute our legislative, when they are willing that your men of property should enjoy the exclusive right of chusing the first branch? have they forfeited it in the exercise which they have made of this right of participating in the choice of you Gentlemen to your important, very important trust? we hope not, and we hope that you will on further consideration

verify it, that they have not, by giving them a voice in the choice and appointment of that very branch of the legislative, which you yourselves tell us is by you intended, to be the representative of the persons of the Commonwealth, and thereby remove all cause for them to regret their choice of you.

TABLE OF VOTES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF 1780.

All the figures below, save those for Essex County, are compiled from the original returns in the Massachusetts Archives, or from copies of local records furnished by town clerks. The total number voting is obtained from the "number present and voting" at the most numerous meeting held by a town to consider the constitution, where such number is stated in the return. Where it is not, the highest vote of the town on any article of the constitution is used.

In computing the vote on Article III and Chapter VI, Article X, the direct vote taken by a town on that article is used wherever found. When a town voted, not on the original article, but on its own proposed substitute, the affirmative side of such a vote has been added to the negative vote for the article in question; and vice versa. In some cases, however — Boston is an example — the return makes it clear that both *yeas* and *nays* on the town's substitute were opposed to the original article. In such cases, and no others, both sides have been added to the negative column for Article III (or X). Cf. *supra*, p. 399. When a town voted neither on the original article nor on a substitute, but took a vote on the entire constitution, its *yeas* and *nays* on that question are counted for both articles.

It has been found impossible to recover a satisfactory number of the missing returns from Essex County. The figures for the total vote of Essex are obtained from the highest vote for that county listed in specimen county schedule in the *Journal of the Convention*, 176. The figures for Article III are obtained by interpreting this table in the same way as the original returns. The figures for Article X are obtained from such Essex returns as I have been able to reconstitute from the town records.

The table below, then, does not pretend to be absolutely accurate. It is simply the nearest figure we can get for the popular vote from the materials we have.

The map used as the basis of the graphic representation of the vote on Article III is Osgood Carleton's of 1801. Many new townships had been created in the previous twenty years. Dartmouth, for instance, included both New Bedford and Westport

in 1780. The area of a town in 1780 has been followed wherever possible, in indicating its vote of that year.

Counties	Total number voting	Art. III Decl'n Rights		Chap. VI, Art. X	
		Yea	Nay	Yea	Nay
Maine Counties . .	453	292	155	230	214
Essex	2,115	1,144	971	355	251
Middlesex	2,266	1,617	552	944	725
Suffolk	2,318	865	1,003	1,234	512
Plymouth	1,246	637	448	577	447
Barnstable	286	193	52	80	153
Bristol	1,486	500	892	482	794
Worcester	3,064	1,713	1,162	1,157	999
Hampshire	2,106	1,423	588	859	907
Berkshire	895	501	402	420	219
Total.	16,235	8,885	6,225	6,338	5,221

E. G. Parker[1] to C. J. Lanman.[2]

[Case of Anthony Burns.]

Boston, Tuesday P.M.
[May 30, 1854.]

My Dear Sir, — I have just received the Governor's Commission of Conn. I write this line to thank you, to express my regret at not seeing you, and to say that the Commission will be of essential Service to me; that is if I ever live to get through this terrific and unparalleled siege about the Fugitive Slave. Boston is a Barrack. The Court House is a Camp. In the Court Room daily an armed gang of fighting men surround both of the Counsel, myself and my associate, And of course, we ourselves are armed fully.

I appear in the Case solely *professionally*, and without the slightest sympathy for the Fugitive Slave Law, which I hate, but shall support it so long *as it is Law*.

If I supposed it would be thought by you of sufficient consequence, what my position was, in this strange Drama, so likely to be

[1] Edward Griffin Parker (1826–1868) served as captain on the staff of General Butler, and resigned his commission in 1864. He was a junior counsel for the claimant in the Burns case.

[2] From the collection of Grenville H. Norcross.

twice a Tragedy, I would send you the Daily Advertiser of today, which very clearly defines and defends my relation and attitude in the Case. But I know how entirely unimportant to you, it would seem, and therefore merely again presenting my acknowledgments for your kindness in attending to the Commission, I remain Yr. very humble Servt.

EDW. G. PARKER.

P.S. Remember me to the Family if you please.

[ENDORSEMENT.]

MY DEAR SIR, — I enclose a letter from Mr. Parker — and I am very much obliged for your kindness. He is a promising young man — and a very worthy fellow. Truly, etc.

C. J. LANMAN.

HON. L. F. S. FOSTER.

J. A. Rockwell in a conversation with Converse remarked "the friends of Mr. Foster managed very adroitly."

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. GREEN, STORER, WENDELL, STANWOOD, BOWDITCH, and LORD.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the PRESIDENT, the second Vice-President, Mr. WINSLOW WARREN, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Corresponding Secretary, in the absence of the Librarian, read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Miss Mary H. Hinckley, of Milton, a painting on cloth, bearing the legend "Homage to Parents," made by Miss Elizabeth Bass Hinckley in 1820, while a pupil at Miss Farnham's Academy, a fashionable school for young ladies conducted by Louisa and Charlotte Farnham, at 26 Newbury (now Washington) Street, Boston.

From Mr. Norcross, a bust, in plaster, of Charles Sumner, made by Martin Milmore. It differs from that given by Mr. Claflin in 1914 (*Proceedings*, XLVII. 311).

From Charles B. Wilby, of Cincinnati, Ohio, a pot bearing a portrait of General Benjamin F. Butler, and with the following history:

"All of the steamboats plying the southern Mississippi and its tributaries were destroyed during the war, and in 1866 a resident of Cincinnati purchased a steamboat in St. Louis for his son to use in re-establishing a packet line between New Orleans and Shreveport. The boat was sent to New Orleans, and was there fitted and furnished for Red River passenger traffic.

"In the early '70's, when the enterprise had proved unsuccessful, the boat was sold at New Orleans to pay its debts; and the donor was sent there to see that the legal formalities of the sale were properly observed. When going through the boat, he found that each stateroom in the ladies' cabin was furnished with articles like this, which had been supplied by the ship's chandler when the boat was fitted out, as an expression of the feeling in New Orleans and Louisiana against the original of the portrait."

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, one French and one United States war poster.

From Miss Mary F. Jenks, eleven medals.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from John Adams Aiken, of Greenfield, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The appointment of Mr. C. P. Greenough to write the memoir of Richard Olney was announced.

Mr. MINOT read the following paper prepared by his son, Grafton Winthrop Minot, who had served as private secretary to Ambassador Gerard, on

THE RECENT DEPARTURE OF THE AMERICAN MISSION FROM BERLIN.

In spite of the difficulty experienced in obtaining accurate information regarding political matters, the majority of American citizens residing in Germany felt that the attitude of the Imperial Government subsequent to the negotiations regarding the sinking of the *Sussex* gave grave grounds for doubt as to its real intentions. It was none the less hard to prove that the German authorities did not desire to fulfil their promises, and that the constantly increasing number of illegal sinkings was not the outcome either of unfortunate circumstances or of the insubordinate zeal of individuals.

This feeling of uncertainty as to the real purpose of the Imperial Government made itself felt in Berlin, and was fostered by the utterances of the newspapers, which for some months to come were moderate in their attitude regarding the limitation of the submarine warfare. Expressions of disapproval of the Government's attitude in restricting the activities of the submarines were rigidly censored, and, although bitter spoken criticism could be heard on all sides, little was allowed to appear in print.

In the secret sittings of the Budget Committee of the Reichstag shortly after September 28 the advisability of instituting a ruthless submarine warfare was discussed at length, and, although no definite action was taken at the time, the likelihood increased that this new course would ultimately be adopted. Through certain underground channels it was possible for the Embassy to obtain full reports of these secret deliberations. About this time censorship was slightly relaxed and occasional articles appeared hinting at the possi-

bility of more extended submarine activity, discussing the practicability of this course and arraigning the position of the United States. Upon the promulgation of the German proposals for a peace conference rigid censorship was again applied, and many papers printed inspired editorials for the purpose of disposing public opinion favorably towards President Wilson's mediation. The intention of the German Government, already apparent to most Americans, became manifest to all a week after the publication of the reply of the Entente powers. The attempt to secure peace had failed — it was therefore no longer necessary to respect the commerce of the United States. With ludicrous promptitude the inspired articles ceased and the censorship upon the submarine discussion was removed. Military critics of prominence, such as Mohrat and Persius, earnestly advocated the resumption of unrestricted warfare; in the Reichstag the bitterness against America grew daily. The Chancellor was increasingly accused of inaction, and was urged to a more energetic programme by members of all parties except the extreme Socialists. The naval faction — of which von Tirpitz was the most conspicuous member — were obviously gaining in power. Von Jagow resigned from the foreign secretaryship, giving place to Zimmerman.

It was evident to the impartial observer in Berlin that the newspapers were being used as media by which to mould public sentiment into approval of an official change of policy, even before rumors as to the probability of the coming step were circulated. Finally, some twenty-four hours before the delivery of the note, Mr. Gerard was confidentially informed that a memorandum describing various changes in the conduct of the submarine warfare would shortly be presented to him for transmission to the Government of the United States. The document, awaited with so much anxiety, was delivered to him on Wednesday, January 31, in the early evening.

With the publication of the text of the memorandum it at once became evident to the members of the staff of the Berlin Embassy that, tolerant as was the attitude of the Washington administration, this new departure would inevitably lead to one of two results: either the German Government would become convinced of the seriousness of the situation and re-

scind the proposed order; or else a rupture of diplomatic relations, with probably still graver developments, would follow.

The period between the transmission of the German proclamation and the arrival of the final instructions of the Department of State was naturally one of great tension for all. With the constantly recurring crises of the preceding year the Embassy had learned to face the possibility of a sudden rupture of relations. Efforts had accordingly been made to keep each department so systematized that it could be handed over with as little disorganization as possible to those who might undertake the various interests. From time to time the head of each bureau carefully tabulated the work going on under him, and compiled an account of its functions together with the duties of each subordinate. The ceaseless pressure of the work and the fact that from the outbreak of the war in 1914 the Embassy was consistently understaffed made this task the more difficult.

It is fitting that mention should be made of the manner in which the unity of the Embassy was upheld by its counsellor, and for some time chargé d'affaires, Joseph Clark Grew. Under his supervision the structure of the chancery departments was devised and built up, and while chargé d'affaires he conducted the difficult negotiations in connection with the German peace proposals and the protests of the United States against the Belgian deportations. Through his quiet force, tact and personal magnetism, discordant elements in the staff were blended into a harmonious unit.

On Sunday, February 4, at about ten o'clock in the morning a wireless despatch to the effect that the United States had broken relations with Germany was received by the president of the Dresdner Bank. Mr. Gerard was at once informed, and the members of the staff, who for the most part were at their homes, were immediately called to the chancery. The report, although unconfirmed, was so worded as to give little room for doubt as to its authenticity. During the afternoon further despatches reached the Embassy, but it was not until the same evening that the official instructions from America arrived.

Early on the morning of February 5 the Embassy was filled with anxious Americans desiring passports, information

and help. In remarkable contrast to the early days of the war not a sign of panic was visible; a more orderly and business-like gathering could scarcely be imagined.

One must remember that in addition to its normal functions the Embassy was entrusted with the interests of Great Britain, Japan, Rumania and Serbia. Each of these countries had a separately organized bureau, all situated in the Embassy building. The British department alone employed a staff of over thirty persons to operate a bureau to tabulate and transmit the lists of prisoners, wounded and dead, a military camp-visiting department with five American physicians as travelling inspectors, and a staff of stenographers for filing and recording, a disbursing office for the British families who still remained in Germany, and a bureau to inspect and care for the civilian internes. In order to handle the funds entrusted to the Embassy and effect the proper distributions and transmissions, it was necessary to maintain a bureau of accounts with six accountants, stenographers and assistants. It is not hard to see how difficult a task was the transfer of these interests to another mission, which might be lacking in any form of efficient organization, with a small and inexperienced staff, ignorant of the language of the nationals with whose affairs they were to be entrusted.

In the instructions of the Department of State it was set forth that the American affairs in Germany, together with those of Japan and Serbia, should be turned over to the Spanish Embassy. The British interests were to be taken over by the Dutch Legation, and those of Rumania by the Swiss Legation. As the Spanish Mission already handled the French, Montenegrin and Russian affairs, the assumption of American interests, although a serious undertaking, did not involve as much confusion as in the case of the interests of those countries having many nationals as civil or military prisoners in Germany. The Spanish Embassy already had a large staff and maintained separate offices for the French and Russian affairs. It is interesting to recall that the Spanish Ambassador, Señor Polo de Bernabé, to whom American interests are now entrusted, nineteen years ago as retiring Spanish Minister at Washington, was overtaken by the declaration of war with Spain while yet in the United States, and was forced to return

to Europe by way of Canada. Although there was at one time some cause for complaint as to the manner in which the French interests were conducted, the Spanish staff did everything possible to assume their new responsibilities with as little interruption as possible. Members of the Spanish consular and diplomatic staff at once came to our Embassy to inspect the system and to learn what was possible before the work was actually turned over to them. The British were not so fortunate in the selection of their representatives. Since the beginning of the war the Dutch Legation staff consisted of the Minister, Baron Gevers, two secretaries (one of whom was on indefinite leave at the time of the rupture of relations), and two or three clerks. Added to this the chancery was composed of a few small rooms at the head of many flights of winding stairs. The Minister, who was a man of great cultivation, experience and unquestioned ability, undertook, somewhat reluctantly, the heavy responsibilities thus thrown upon him.

It was naturally impossible for the Spanish Embassy and Dutch Legation to take over the business in their own offices, and it was therefore decided to retain the American Embassy — a private residence leased from the von Schwabach family — and to continue the work there under the supervision of the new representatives.

The United States Embassy was particularly fortunate in its clerical staff, as there were employed a number of Americans, English and Germans experienced in the work and willing to go on in the service of the new controllers. The clerks engaged in the filing of British correspondence, card cataloguing of prisoners, etc., all continued at their positions through the crisis, and for the most part remained after the departure of the mission. The stenographers and assistants engaged in American affairs in many cases wished to leave Berlin with the Embassy, but enough stayed behind to ensure the continuity of the work.

It was during this period that Mr. Gerard was asked to ratify on behalf of his Government the treaty made between Frederick William III and the United States in 1799. When the particulars were discussed it was found that the German authorities wished to add a further protocol to the effect that

the ships of each nation should not be interned, should be free to leave port when they should desire, but should not be compelled to do so. In view of the fact that there were no American vessels in German ports, and that a considerable fleet of German merchant marine lay in American ports, this proposition was manifestly one-sided. Mr. Gerard not only refused to consider the suggestion, but even refused to communicate it to the United States Government. At the time of the break of relations reports appeared in many of the American newspapers to the effect that the German Government endeavored to compass these ends by threatening to hold the American Ambassador unless he should comply with their wishes in this respect. This is also thought to have been the case by certain members of the staff, and the point is still somewhat in doubt. It is, however, the opinion of the majority of the Embassy, and indeed that of the writer, that the German authorities did not desire to threaten, but to persuade; further, that the German Government was far from anxious to detain the Embassy longer than was necessary for the Foreign Office to receive assurances that Count Bernstorff would be granted proper facilities for his return. This theory seems the more probable in the light of succeeding events, for it is certain that the Embassy was not held an hour longer than was needed to transact the necessary business of closing, and that Mr. Gerard's wishes with regard to the manner of his departure were sedulously followed.

With the first day communication by telegraph and mail with other cities was cut off, and it was only from the few Americans who succeeded in reaching Berlin from other cities that it was possible to gather information as to what was happening in the outlying consular districts. No cable news of any kind was permitted to reach the Embassy and messages could be sent only *en clair*, and then after passing inspection of the Foreign Office. On the second day the telephone was cut off by military order, and this step, seemingly useless from the German point of view, was a very real source of inconvenience and discomfort. To transmit a message of any kind it was necessary to send to the Kaiserhof — a large hotel in the immediate vicinity. Fortunately the telephones of the members of the staff in their private residences were at no

time disconnected. It was not until some days later that the Embassy lines were again in working order, and it was stated that the whole matter was an error resulting from a misunderstanding between the military authorities and the Foreign Office. The usual amount of correspondence arrived with the early mail, and was at once opened and distributed. An hour or so later there arrived at the Embassy a very embarrassed postman to say that he had delivered the mail by mistake, and that he must request the return of the letters. He was politely but firmly informed that it was then too late to rectify the slip. During the next five days mail was from time to time delivered, but it is difficult to decide how much was kept back and how much surrendered. Completely unimportant household bills mailed on February 1 and 2 were carefully retained, and have just reached their destination at the time of the writing of this paper, whereas certain business letters and even registered letters were occasionally delivered to the Embassy. It is to be presumed that the postmasters acted as their fancy directed them in this matter.

There remained much correspondence to be dealt with up to the last day, and, although officially out of connection with the Foreign Office, the Embassy continued to send notes relative to the interests in its care even on the actual afternoon of its departure. These notes were dated February 2, and thus were technically addressed to the Foreign Office before relations were broken. Much credit is due to the clerical staff of the Embassy who, although many of them were German subjects, made themselves of the greatest service until the end. The domestic servants of the staff seemed appalled by the news and placed far more confidence in their masters than in their own people. There was hardly one who would not have been glad of the chance of leaving Germany with the Embassy. To complete the delivery of the affairs into Spanish hands it was necessary to destroy all codes, records and copies of cipher messages and confidential reports. As the code books used were nearly the size of a Standard Dictionary, it was no easy matter to mutilate them so as to destroy each page and letter. The books had to be broken up in small sections and then burned, together with the rest of the correspondence. The destruction of these records, which had taken such days and

nights of labor to decode and transcribe, gave a more definite feeling of finality than any other step. In order to assist in the conduct of the American, British, Japanese, Rumanian and Serbian interests it was decided to leave certain of the less important files open for reference. All other correspondence and records had to be separated, locked, bound and carefully sealed in the presence of the Spanish representatives. As a last step the big dies of the Embassy seal were smashed with an axehead.

All official information as to the date and hour of the departure of the Embassy was carefully withheld from the papers. A report that the staff was not to leave until a date one week later than that actually planned was circulated, apparently with the purpose of misleading the public. These precautions, although well considered, were probably unnecessary, as at no time during the week in which the Embassy remained in Berlin after the break did the public evince much curiosity as to its actions. No crowds assembled in front of the building, nor did anyone attempt to molest persons entering it.

The special train was scheduled to leave at eight o'clock in the evening on Saturday, February 10, from the Anhalter Bahnhof. The day had been cold and overcast, and as evening drew on it grew misty and damp. The train consisted of a private car, two sleeping cars, two day coaches, a dining and a baggage car. An hour before the departure almost the whole of the staff were at the station. The platform from which the train was to leave was carefully blocked off from the main entrance and access was allowed only on presentation of passes from the Foreign Office. Owing to the number of private citizens whom Mr. Gerard had asked to take with him on the train, the sleeping accommodations, which would have been ample for the actual and clerical staff, proved insufficient — forty-four berths to one hundred and twenty persons.

A few representatives of the German Foreign Office headed by Count Montgelas, some members of the various Embassies and Legations in Berlin and the intimate friends of Mr. Gerard and of the staff were the only persons on the platform. After a slight confusion in arranging the passengers in their places and a brief leavetaking, the train pulled quietly out of

the station into a black and rainy night. To conduct Mr. Gerard to the frontier two extremely pleasant young staff officers had been selected, and great credit is due to them for the tactful manner in which they fulfilled their unwelcome duty. There were in addition a few secret service agents to ensure the safety of the passengers. As the excitement of the departure precluded any possibility of sleep for most, the younger members of the staff and their wives gathered in a compartment of one of the day coaches. Some adventurous spirits had thought of champagne for the journey, and seized this opportunity to open it. More people arrived, and soon the compartment was crowded to bursting. Relief after the strain was infectious, and it must have been a source of some irritation to the members of the secret service in nearby compartments to see such cheerful exiles. It was perhaps well that they could not hear the exact wording of the toasts which were proposed.

The journey passed quickly and uneventfully until the train reached the Baden frontier. Here the German officers quietly left the train, after courteously refraining from any form of examination of the credentials of the passengers. On their departure Mr. Gerard presented both with gold cigarette cases to remind them of their interesting if unpleasant duty. A few minutes later the train crossed the border and slid into Schaffhausen station, where representatives of the Swiss General Staff with a company of soldiers at attention on both sides of the train awaited the Embassy.

Mr. SPRING read a paper on

THE SINGULAR CASE OF A NEW ENGLAND CLERGYMAN.

Among the incidental and minor consequences which followed the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, was the resignation of the Rev. John E. Stewart, minister of the Methodist Church at North Salem, N. H. Roused by the great political crisis, and notwithstanding the protests of the parish, he abandoned his work in that town and joined the fifth party despatched to the border by the Emigrant Aid Society — the party that left Boston about the first of November, 1854.

The biography of this crusading clergyman, preceding his

settlement at North Salem in 1853, seems to have been lost — at least, after considerable inquiry, I failed to discover any trace of it. But the early obscurity was succeeded by two or three years of detailed knowledge, as he wrote out a pretty full account of his experiences in that period, and the manuscript, only a fragment of which has been printed, is in the library of the Kansas Historical Society.

Settling upon the Wakarusa River, four miles south of Lawrence, the Rev. Mr. Stewart resumed intermittently and for a time his ministerial vocation. To quote his own phrase, he "rode the circuit" — more or less — and is said to have been chaplain of one of the free-state conventions. But whatever his religious activities may have been, he was otherwise a tolerably busy man, since he participated in the skirmishes at Osawatomie and Black Jack; in the rescue of Old Jacob Branson and the consequent Wakarusa War; in the operations against Franklin, Fort Saunders and Fort Titus, and in the defence of Lawrence, assailed by Atchison and twenty-two hundred Missourians.

The Rev. Mr. Stewart brought his narrative of Kansas experiences down to the autumn of 1856. Why should he have paused at that point? Certainly not because for him life on the border then suddenly became tame and conventional. Not very long after this date he had built on his "claim" a double log-house, which may be appropriately called Fort Stewart-on-the-Wakarusa, furnished it with an armament of sixteen Sharps' rifles and a fluctuating garrison, and made it the headquarters of aggressive underground railroad operations in Western Missouri. The narrative was hardly discontinued because the writer had come to the end of his resources. May it have been a possible and a sufficient occasion for silence, that life on the border did not keep up to the New England pitch; that things happened which would scarcely look well on the pages of a clergyman's autobiography? We shall see.

A resident of Lawrence, Kansas, during the decade beginning in the summer of 1876, and hearing more or less vague, random talk about Stewart's Fort, I was moved to look into the history of the affair. Contrary to what might have been expected, I found that it did not figure at all in the earlier books

on Kansas and fared scarcely better in the later ones. Indeed, the newspapers afford almost the only contemporary data, and they are meagre enough. The most important of them is a letter written at the Fort, May 9, 1860, by Silas Soulé, who participated in the rescue of Dr. John Day from the St. Joseph jail and had lately returned from Virginia, whither he went in company with Colonel James Montgomery and others on a similar but futile mission in behalf of Albert Hazlitt and Aaron Dwight Stevens. "Stewart," we learn from this letter of Silas Soulé, "Stewart brought up three head the other night, making sixty-eight since he commenced."

Failing to get much definite information from books and newspapers, I undertook some inquiries among old settlers and found three who seemed to have first-hand information. These historical authorities were Captain W. B. Kennedy, a neighbor of Stewart, a veteran of the Civil War and a man of local prominence; an ex-border ruffian, by the name of Herd, who is said to have stood high among his associates; and the Rev. L. B. Dennis, an early Methodist pastor at Lawrence and presiding elder of the North Kansas district. Yet not even with the aid of these old settlers have I been able to prepare anything like an adequate narrative of the operations on the Rev. Mr. Stewart's personal branch of the underground railroad. In this half-obliterated history little is now possible beyond the gathering of a few more or less related incidents.

And first as to Stewart's method of campaign in Western Missouri. He seems to have been in the habit of making his expeditions alone. At all events, that was the case in those about which I have any specific information. On one occasion he set out from the Fort driving a large farm wagon in the bottom of which he concealed a quantity of young peach trees. Reaching Independence, Missouri, and stopping at the principal hotel, he called for a glass of whiskey and began to harangue the loafers who frequented the bar-room. His theme was "the abolition hirelings" in Kansas, and his vocabulary would have astonished his late parishioners at North Salem if they had heard it. Resuming his journey, he presently fell in with a young negro who appeared to be of more than ordinary promise. He had a theory that if a colored man once looked him directly in the eye he would inevitably win

his confidence. What might be seen there was not exactly certain, but the prospect pleased this particular spectator. "Would you like to be free?" Stewart inquired, and the negro thought he would. "Well, then," said the former, "as soon as it is dark, saddle your master's best horse and strike out for Kansas." "I have lived with my ole massa dis twenty year," the other replied, "and I don't just like to steal his horse." "In that time you have earned one — take it." The negro's scruples gave way, he appropriated the horse, and, guided by a crude chart scrawled on the back of an envelope, he safely reached the rendezvous. After this moderate success Stewart uncovered his peach trees, set them up on the bottom of his wagon to give the impression that he had been on a visit to some Missouri nursery and returned to the Fort.

In regard to another expedition I was told a single incident, and that occurred at the close of it. Late one night Stewart reached the house of Captain Kennedy with four negroes in a covered wagon and asked him to take care of them. The Fort was on the other side of the Wakarusa, ordinarily a small peaceful stream, but then swollen by a sudden and tremendous freshet and dangerous to cross. "I did not wish to be mixed up with Stewart's affairs," said the Captain, "and declined to hide the darkies. He declared he would ford the river, whatever happened. I had no idea he would do anything so rash, but I was mistaken. Tying down the cover of his wagon and standing upright on the seat, he drove into the turbulent angry stream. Once or twice nothing could be seen except the driver and the horses' heads. By some miracle of good fortune he succeeded in reaching the other side with his half-drowned darkies."

The ex-border ruffian, another of my historical authorities, had a farm four or five miles from Lawrence. A friend who accompanied me on the trip to see him was a trifle nervous in regard to the sort of reception we might get. If one were to believe all that had been said about the gentry to which he belonged in free-state books and papers, there were at least possibilities of something disagreeable. But there was no occasion for apprehension. We found this ex-border ruffian — a tall, lank, withy, sun-dried Missourian — at work in his cornfield. So far from being displeased, he was evidently gratified

by our visit, and willing, if not eager, to talk about Stewart, whose underground railroad operations had disturbed the pro-slavery people so much that they offered a reward of one thousand dollars for his capture "dead or alive" — preferably dead it was generally understood. It occurred to the ex-border ruffian and some of his associates that it would be a good plan to venture the chances of a raid upon Stewart's establishment. Instead of attacking the Fort they dashed about the immediate vicinity and surprised two colored men — "Little Bobby" and "White Oak Nigger." The latter had a pistol, showed fight, wounded one of his assailants and managed to escape. "Little Bobby" was not so fortunate. "I rode up to him," said the ex-border ruffian, "ordered him to surrender and be quick about it, and he was. Then we mounted him behind Jake Magee. At first he pretended he could n't ride, swayed and slipped about in a ridiculous fashion. Finally somebody hit him a sharp crack across the shoulders with the ramrod of a musket, and that produced a sudden improvement in his horsemanship." The party, setting off at full speed, succeeded in reaching West-port, Missouri, forty miles away, where a grand impromptu celebration took place. Everybody got drunk except "Little Bobby," who at night managed to slip off his handcuffs, stole a revolver from one of his boozy guards and reached the Fort during the next day.

But where, meanwhile, was the Rev. Mr. Stewart? That question is answered definitely and fully in the letter of Silas Soulé already quoted. "I went with him to Lawrence in the morning, and we had not been there more than an hour before a runner came in with the report that the place had been attacked, and one man taken . . . We started . . . as soon as possible, but could raise only four horsemen, and by the time we got our arms they were off a good way. We followed them six miles, but found they all had good horses and that . . . we could not overtake them. When last seen they were going it with the boy on behind one of them."

The only other hostile reconnoissance upon the Fort of which I have any knowledge was an individual affair, and Captain Kennedy is my authority. An unwary Missourian with a grievance had been haunting the neighborhood, and by some

ruse or other succeeded in getting inside of it. Sitting before the door of his cabin one pleasant Sunday evening, the Captain heard a sudden uproar in the Fort — a confused tumult of voices in which only two articulate words could be distinguished, "Shoot him, shoot him," followed by a pistol shot. Long afterwards in the process of digging a trench near the site of the Fort workmen unearthed the half-decayed body of some unknown man. "Whatever the real solution of the mystery may be," said the Captain, "for me the sight of that wasted dead body recalled the angry words heard twenty years before as I sat at my cabin door — 'Shoot him, shoot him.'"

At the time I became interested in the story of Stewart the Rev. Mr. Dennis was living in Illinois and I failed to see him, but he wrote me a letter of reminiscence — or rather of lamentation. "Yes, I knew Brother Stewart," he said, "and he was a godly man and loved the things of the kingdom when he came to the territory. But the excitements and temptations were too strong for him, and he lost the consecration and spirituality which ought to characterize a laborer in the vineyard of the Lord."

Mr. Dennis intimates that the moral character of Stewart went to pieces under the stress and strain of the border. Yet whatever else happened — and it was bad enough — his antislavery record from first to last is perfectly clear. Gangs of counterfeit free-state men made a business of abducting slaves from Missouri, of keeping them in hiding until rewards were offered for their recovery, of restoring them to their owners and collecting the price. Even the infamous Quantrill posed for a time as a radical abolitionist. But Stewart remained true to the antislaveryism which carried him from New Hampshire to Kansas.

A striking illustration of the confusion which prevailed in regard to ethical and moral standards fell under my own observation. Visiting Osawatomie to see the places and monuments of historic interest, my attention was attracted by a plot in the cemetery surrounded by a low picket fence. Stepping over the fence and pushing aside the rank prairie grass that half concealed the marble slab, I was surprised at the name I found on it — Marshall L. Cleveland, a desperado of such an aggravated character, gone so far beyond

the bounds of mercy that the national authorities hunted him down and shot him to death as if he had been a wild beast. If I was surprised at finding the outlaw reposing among the dead in the cemetery at Osawatomie, I was astonished at the legend which followed his name —

> Earth hath one mortal less,
> Heaven an angel more.

The chaotic ethical conditions on the border are mentioned, not exactly as an apology for the later years of the Rev. Mr. Stewart, but as a circumstance that ought not to be left out of the reckoning. During these half-obliterated years, abounding in elements of the commonplace, which need no record even if it could be recovered, there was one trace of originality — the union of two functions rarely united — indeed I do not recall in my readings of biographical literature another instance of it — the functions of clergyman and horse-thief. This remarkable union is said to date from an early period in the Kansas history of the divine. Not long after he began to "ride the circuit" it was noticed that he often returned with a better horse than he had when he left home. The ugly rumors grew to such proportions that, July 25, 1858, he printed a letter in the Lawrence *Republican* asseverating his innocence. A few days later — August 7 — a letter appeared in the *Herald of Freedom* from the sheriff of Bourbon County, who held a quite different opinion on the subject. He said he belonged to the free-state party, but was not "an approbator of free-state horse-thieves." In 1860 the question whether Stewart should be reckoned among these thieves got beyond the newspapers into the courts and was decided in the negative — in all probability a flagrant miscarriage of justice.

The commander of the Fort-on-the-Wakarusa entered the federal service in 1862 as captain of a company belonging to the ninth regiment of Kansas Volunteers. A new career opened before him, an opportunity to retrieve the past, to reassert that better self, which won the confidence and affection of parishioners in North Salem, New Hampshire, but the opportunity passed and the processes of demoralization continued. While attending the commencement of the state university at Lawrence in 1906, I made some inquiries among surviving members

of his regiment in regard to the matter, and they all agreed that his army record was bad, that he neglected his duties, took to drink and had other vicious habits. Discharged in 1864, months before the close of the war, he failed to return to his family or even to Kansas. Whither he went, what subsequent fortunes befell him, neither his neighbors nor his army associates seemed to know.

Fort Stewart-on-the-Wakarusa was dismantled long ago, and in its place, literally or approximately, there has arisen refuge for unfortunates worsted in the struggle of life — the almshouse of Douglas County.

Commandant Azan's remarks, made at the May Meeting (p. 314, *supra*) follow:

Monsieur le Président, Messieurs, —

Je suis très flatté d'être introduit dans cette réunion par M. Barrett Wendell, et d'avoir à prendre la parole devant vous; car, si votre Société est petite par le nombre limité de membres qu'elle admet, elle est grande par l'importance de ses travaux et par sa réputation.

L'accueil que vous voulez bien me faire est un symbole très précieux des sentiments qu'a manifestés le Massachusetts à l'égard de la France; aussi je vous en remercie très sincèrement.

Les détails historiques que je vais avoir l'honneur d'exposer devant vous ont trait aux événements qui ont rapproché nos deux nations dans la dernière partie du xviii^{e} siècle.

Pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance, certains régiments français ont, sans mettre le pied sur le continent américain, combattu pour la cause de la liberté; ce sont ceux qui ont pris part aux luttes livrées dans les eaux américaines. Il y aurait une étude d'ensemble à faire sur eux. Aujourd'hui, je me bornerai à parler du seul régiment dont j'ai étudié l'histoire, parce que mon arrière-grand-père y a servi, le régiment Viennois.

Le régiment Viennois fut formé en 1776 par le dédoublement du régiment de Guyenne, qui lui donna ses 2^{e} et 4^{e} bataillons. L'un de ces bataillons était parti à la Martinique depuis le 7 septembre 1775; l'autre, après avoir séjourné en France, à Givet, Dieppe, Dinan, et Saint-Malo, s'embarqua pour cette île le 6 octobre 1777. Le régiment Viennois se trouva ainsi

réuni à la Martinique le 29 novembre 1777, sous les ordres de Nicolas-Thomas-Hue, comte de Miromesnil.

Quelques mois plus tard, écrit le lieutenant A. Batault, historien du régiment Viennois,[1] l'assistance indirecte accordée par la France aux Etats-Unis se changeait en un traité d'alliance offensive et défensive . . . Les Américains exigeaient la reconnaissance complète de leur indépendance. La guerre s'étendit aux colonies du Sud. Elle atteignit les Antilles.

Le régiment Viennois était commandé, en 1778, par le marquis Marie-Charles du Chilleau. Le 8 septembre, les grenadiers et les chasseurs du régiment, sous les ordres du colonel, participèrent avec le régiment Auxerrois à la prise de la Dominique. En récompense de leurs exploits, le colonel du Chilleau fut nommé gouverneur de cette île par le marquis de Bouillé, qui dirigeait l'expédition.

L'année suivante, en juin 1779, un détachement du régiment, sous les ordres du capitaine de Germiny, fit partie de l'expédition du chevalier de Rumain contre l'île de Saint-Vincent. Les troupes se présentèrent le 16 juin dans la baie de Young Island. Kingston et les forts capitulèrent immédiatement.

En juillet 1779, lorsque le comte d'Estaing, après une victoire sur l'amiral Byron, s'empara de Grenade, cinquante grenadiers de Viennois étaient parmi les héros qui sautèrent à sa suite dans les retranchements.

Le 12 avril 1780, un détachement de Viennois fut embarqué sur la flotte du comte de Guichen. L'amiral Rodney, après avoir battu une flotte espagnole, vint livrer à Guichen trois combats sous la Dominique, le 17 avril, puis les 15 et 19 mai 1780. Ces combats furent violents et indécis: celui du 19 mai coûta des pertes assez sérieuses au détachement de Viennois, qui eut plusieurs officiers blessés.

Tandis que ce détachement combattait sur la flotte du comte de Guichen, le reste du régiment, commandé par le colonel M. C. du Chilleau, avait été embarqué sur les vaisseaux du comte de Grasse, et transporté à Tabago. Dans cette île se trouvait déjà M. de Blanchelande, premier major du régiment Viennois, occupant le fort de Scarborough. A l'arrivée du

[1] Manuscrit des Archives historiques du Ministère de la guerre, à Paris, d'où la plupart des renseignements suivants sont extraits.

renfort, la garnison anglaise, qui s'était retranchée sur le Mont Concord, évacua sa position dans la nuit. Poursuivie de près, elle capitula le 2 juin. Le 86e régiment anglais tout entier fut fait prisonnier.

Après cette expédition, le régiment Viennois rentra à la Martinique, où il tint garnison pendant toute l'année 1781.

Le 5 janvier 1782, il s'embarqua pour aller reconquérir Saint-Christophe sur les Anglais. Les troupes françaises, débarquées à six heures du soir, marchèrent immédiatement sur la forteresse de Brimstone-Hill, à quatre heures de la Basse-Terre, où la garnison s'était retirée.

Viennois, conduit par le colonel du Chilleau, tourna le morne par la droite, pour occuper le poste de Sandy-Point, tandis que d'autres troupes, dont le régiment irlandais du comte de Dillon, complétaient l'investissement. Le 15 janvier, les Anglais mirent le feu à Sandy-Point, et dirigèrent toute leur artillerie de ce côté. Le régiment Viennois, forcé d'abandonner ce poste, s'établit sur la hauteur et ouvrit la tranchée devant Brimstone-Hill dans la nuit du 16 ou 17.

Le 28 janvier, l'amiral anglais Howe essaya de dégager les assiégés. Il débarqua 1300 hommes, qui mirent un instant en danger les détachements des régiments Auxerrois, Agénois et Touraine, laissés au port de Basse-Terre. Mais Viennois et les autres troupes du siège forcèrent les Anglais à rembarquer. La capitulation de la garnison de la place ne fut signée qu'après une vigoureuse résistance, le 12 février. La petite île Nevis suivit le sort de Saint-Christophe.

En avril 1782, des compagnies du Viennois furent embarquées sur la flotte du comte de Grasse. Elles prirent part aux combats livrés à l'amiral Rodney les 9 et 18 avril, à hauteur de la Dominique et de la Martinique.

Viennois s'embarqua le 18 mai 1783 pour rentrer en France.

On voit comment des régiments français d'infanterie prirent part aux combats livrés par le comte de Guichen et le comte de Grasse, dans les eaux américaines.

C'est à ces diverses opérations que participa mon arrière-grand-père. Jean-Jacques Azam (avec un *m*, suivant l'orthographe usitée au XVIIIe siècle) était né le 2 février 1756 à Albi; il mourut à Saint-Quentin le 18 fructidor an IX (5 septembre 1801), à l'âge de 45 ans.

Poussé par le goût du métier des armes, il s'enrôla le 27 septembre 1774 au régiment de Conti, passa peu après au régiment Viennois, et resta à la Martinique de 1775 à 1783, prenant part à toutes les expéditions du régiment.

Il reçut, d'après les certificats de visite qui existent aux archives du Ministère de la Guerre: une première blessure très grave, par éclat d'obus, à la partie inférieure gauche de la poitrine; une seconde au talon gauche, par coup de feu; une troisième à la partie supérieure droite du sein droit, par coup de feu; une quatrième à l'aisselle droite par coup de feu;[1] il eut en outre les yeux gravement atteints. Aussi se retira-t-il du service le 16 mai 1791.

Les archives de famille possèdent peu de détails sur son existence pendant ses campagnes d'Amérique, parce que ses papiers personnels ont passé à une famille de Saint-Quentin, par suite du mariage de sa veuve. Les diverses archives du Ministère de la Guerre fournissent par contre quelques renseignements sur lui. Un des documents le signale comme "volontaire dans un des régiments de terre employés en Amérique, le 6 septembre 1781." Les archives de la ville de Saint-Quentin, qui contiennent sur lui des renseignements très intéressants, sont malheureusement exposées à être détruites, comme tant d'autres, par la barbarie allemande.

En tous cas, Jean-Jacques Azan reprit du service dès que la cause de la Liberté le réclama dans sa propre Patrie. Le 25 juillet 1792, il partit comme sous-lieutenant au 17e bataillon de fédérés nationaux, et y fut nommé lieutenant le 20 juillet 1793. Avec ce bataillon, il fit partie de la fameuse "Armée de Sambre-et-Meuse," qui, parmi toutes les armées de la République, a conservé dans l'histoire une réputation de gloire immortelle. Il ne se retira qu'à bout de forces, lorsque ses anciennes blessures d'Amérique l'empêchèrent de continuer tout service, le 22 mars 1794. Il se fixa alors à Saint-Quentin; et, comme il n'avait que 38 ans, il s'y maria.

Le document qui lui fut remis à son départ du Front par le conseil d'administration de la 21e demi-brigade d'infanterie légère, est un spécimen rare, que je suis heureux de présenter à la Massachusetts Historical Society; il porte la mention des

[1] Certificat des officiers de santé de l'Hôpital Militaire de Saint-Quentin, du 23 fructidor an II (9 septembre 1794).

blessures reçues en luttant pour l'Indépendance américaine et l'attestation des services rendus à la cause de la Liberté française.

Les traditions de famille se sont conservées. Son fils, Jean-Jacques Azan j^r^, est allé mettre son épée au service de la Liberté espagnole, et a lutté, comme officier de la Légion, pour la cause constitutionnelle contre l'absolutisme.[1]

Son petit-fils, Joseph G. U. Azan, sorti de Saint-Cyr en 1868, a fait la guerre de 1870–1871 contre les Allemands avec la fameuse "brigade des drapeaux," au 42^e^ régiment d'infanterie; il est mort prématurément à Dijon en 1895, comme lieut-colonel, victime d'une épidémie contractée au chevet de ses soldats.

Enfin, c'est pour moi une joie sincère de me trouver sur la terre américaine. J'ai éprouvé une profonde émotion, en voguant dans les eaux où mon arrière-grand-père avait combattu; ma pensée se reportait constamment aux années glorieuses où la France avait contribué à assurer l'indépendance de votre Patrie.

Le grand honneur qui m'est échu de collaborer à l'instruction des futurs officiers américains accroît l'affection que je ressentais, par atavisme, pour votre belle nation. Et j'espère, avec les troupes magnifiques qui se préparent, pouvoir participer à nouveau, de l'autre côté de l'Atlantique, à la lutte entreprise pour la Liberté du monde.

Mr. Howe communicated the

Journal of Josiah Quincy, jun., during his voyage and residence in England from September 28th, 1774, to March 3d, 1775.[2]

Memo. etc. relative to Tour to London, 1774.

	Sterling.
Sundry Expenses in preparing, etc.	£10:10:0
In Cash taken, etc.	52:10:0
Bill of Exchange on London	200: 0:0
Loose change	1: 7:0
Paid Mr. Dennie[3] for passage and stores	21: 0:0

[1] Voir *La légion étrangère en Espagne* (1835–1839), par Paul Azan, Paris, Lavauzelle, 1907.

[2] See *Proceedings*, XLIX. 424, for circumstances of printing in full this journal, previously made public in part.

[3] William Dennie. He had been denounced as one of the leading rebels against

Wednesday, September 28, 10 o'clock. At the request, etc.,[1] sailed in the ship *Boston Packet*, Nathaniel Byfield Lyde, master.[2] Twelve o'clock cleared the land. In low health, less seasick than [in my former voyage.] Great benefit by sea.

November 5. Latitude 49, 45. Wrote a letter to E——.[3]

November 8. Tuesday, ten o'clock, landed at Falmouth in the county of Cornwall. Same day wrote another letter to E.,[4] and one to Deacon Phillips.[5]

Delivered the above letters to Capt. Sinclair in Mr. Gerry's[6] employ, bound in a schooner to Marblehead. Took a two-hours' walk over the town. A delightful situation. Miserable houses. Industry and poverty, health and plenty were the most striking singularities.

I could not help realizing the truth of the saying — no women indulged like the American.

In my view of Pendennis Castle[7] and indeed the land and every thing about me, I was struck with [the] surprizing appearance of Antiquity.[8]

November 9. This morning I had occasion to reflect upon one imprudence which I must debit to my modesty, viz., lying in damp sheets.

British authority in a handbill distributed in this very month of September, 1774. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXI. 60.

[1] In a letter to John Dickinson, August 20, Quincy wrote: "At the urgent solicitation of a great number of warm friends to my country and myself, I have agreed to relinquish business, and embark for London." *Memoir of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, 150. He embarked at Salem.

[2] "With us went passengers Messrs. W[illiam] Hyslop and son; Dr. [Timothy?] Paine and Rufus Chandler, Esq., of Worcester; Mr. [Stephen?] Higginson, of Salem, and Mr. Sylvester Oliver, son of the late Lieutenant-Governor [Andrew Oliver]. Some of us might say, '*Nos dulcia linguimus arva*,' while others were obliged to mourn, '*Nos patriam fugimus.*'" *Memoir*, 187. On November 17 Hutchinson notes the arrival of Sylvester Oliver and gives the same list of passengers. Brinley Sylvester Oliver (b. 1755) died without descendants. He was suspected at the time by the authorities, but was cleared. Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 296.

[3] He married in 1769 Abigail, daughter of William Phillips, a merchant of Boston. She is noted in this journal as Eugenia, according to the affectation of that day. This letter is printed, in part, in *Memoir*, 187.

[4] *Ib.*, 190.

[5] William Phillips (1722–1804). See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXXIX. 109.

[6] Elbridge, Thomas, or John Gerry, all "merchants" at Marblehead at that time.

[7] Pendennis Castle is on the south side of the entrance of Falmouth Harbor, and was built by Henry VIII.

[8] In the *Memoir* are printed some reflections as taken from the "Journal," but they are not in the original.

Proceeded from Falmouth to Bodmyn, twenty-two miles, and passed through the town of Pendryn and several small villages. The roads hilly and good, affording agreeable riding and delightful land prospects.

The cultivation of the land can scarcely be realized by a mere American: 'tis to an amazing perfection.

The first reflection upon the immense labor that must be bestowed on these fields was where the men lived who did the work. Amazing fields highly tilled without a house. This was an object that occurred every hour almost.

The lower orders of the people are servile in their obeisance and despondent in their appearance.

The women use surprising exercise and appear with a ruddy bloom I never before saw.

The town and villages are built chiefly of small stone and clay. Some have larger stones, and many resemble much the late old Goal of Boston.[1] Most miserable accommodations for honest labor!

I could not help remarking that if the little liberty diffused through Britain could give such a beautiful face to nature, what would be the appearance if there was as much general liberty as was consistent with that fundamental principle of social policy — "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The fields bloom, the rain and wind, etc., for whom?

The ideas of the spade, plough, anvil, and chisel, contrasted with those of an aborigine of America. Query: Which are most noble?

The Briton says, see France, Spain and Italy, the calamities of slavery. The liberal minded who use a larger scale will think it not needful to go so far.

Nothing more common than to hear in America, both North and South, Britons declaim against the hypocritical duplicity and fraud of N. E. men; but certain it is that G. B. in variety and abundance of frauds and deceits far surpass any part of N. America. It is true that among the manufacturers whose faces are ground to the bone, and the peasantry whose souls do not soar above the soil they grovel in (neither of which orders have opportunity or spirit to practice the sinister arts with dexterity), I say among these there may probably exist something of a negative kind of honesty; but look among the great who riot on the spoils of the nation, among the commercial world who live by a dextrous exchange of the fruits of popular industry; among the merchants and tradesmen who get their bread by their craft; and among the many who in a political or laborious sense may be stiled the servants of the public; in short, look among the few

[1] The old building had been burned, January 30, 1759.

and the many — what is there in this great nation but imposture, knavery and vice, in all shapes and degrees of extravagance, rolling a torrent of mischief and destruction?

November 10. From Bodmyn, a very considerable manufacturing town, rode through several villages to Plymouth Docks, about thirty-three miles.

Saw the elegant seat of Lord Edgcombe,[1] a most surpassingly delightful situation.

November 11. Though a very cold and stormy day, viewed Plymouth Docks and went on board and all over the *Royal George*,[2] a first rate, and pierced for 210 and carrying 200 guns. The rope walks, buildings, armory, arsenal, naval and warlike stores exceed the powers of the human mind to conceive, that doth not actually behold. I will not attempt to describe what I could scarce realize to be true while I was actually viewing. My ideas of the riches and powers of this great nation are increased to a degree I should not have believed, if it had been predicted [to] me. I am not in a measure reconciled to the British plan of taxing America, but I should with cheerfulness accede to a contribution from the Colonies (they being sole judges of the time and quantity of their grants) towards the charges of the British Government.

I also saw and viewed many 64-, 74-, 80- and 100-gun ships; went on board a loaded Indiaman just arrived, but this being after viewing the preceding magnificence did not much move.

The various materials and the several degrees of building from the laying the keel and the finishing an 100-gun ship, which were very carefully viewed by me, in several instances excited an astonishment I never before experienced.

November 12. Proceeded further to view Plymouth and its environs; saw the beautiful Assembly Room at Bath near the Docks, and the baths for the nobility and gentry. Elegance and splendor.

Proceeded to Plymouth, viewed the town and the castle. Incredible strength, natural and artificial.

Viewed the statue of George I, very elegant and beautiful.

November 13. Having got to the great and ancient city of Exeter, viewed the city, Cathedral and Bishop's Palace. The Cathedral surprizingly grand and antique. Amazing work of superstition!

Went to church and saw the procession of the Mayor and Aldermen, the parade of the Bishop, Archdeacons, Deans, Chaunters, etc., etc., the gold service of the communion, etc. Heard the chaunting

[1] George, first Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe (1721–1795), a vice-admiral of the Blue.

[2] Apparently the *Royal George* of Cowper's familiar poem.

of the prayers, etc. Shocked — indignant at the mockery of the great and the priests. The North walk in this city was beyond expression beautiful.

November 14. Went from Axminster to the city of Salisbury.

November 15. Viewed the famous Roman or Druid Temple at Stonehenge. This temple the learned and the vertuosi called one [of] the greatest wonders of the island. 'Tis a wonderful piece of workmanship and antiquity.

Went to the seat of the Earl of Pembroke.[1] His statuary, bustos and paintings surpass that of any nobleman in the kingdom. Indeed my ideas were stretched with astonishment during this survey, very much in the same manner as in viewing Plymouth Docks. There is no such thing as my describing what authors have written whole volumes upon.

Viewed the Cathedral which is called (and perhaps justly) one of the grandest in the kingdom.

The health and cleanliness of the women still grow upon me. . . .[2]

November 16. . . . and lodged at Haines on the Thames.

Delightful seats, etc., increase, very vast. Earl of Portsmouth's[3] very grand.

November 17. Proceeded to London, where I arrived about eleven o'clock A.M.[4]

The numbers, opulence etc. of this great city far surpass all I had imagined.

My ideas are upon the rack, my astonishment amazing.

Was waited upon by Messrs. Th. Bromfield,[5] E. and C. Dilly[6] and Mr. Jno. Williams[7] — from all of whom I received many civilities.

[1] Wilton House. Henry Herbert, tenth Earl of Pembroke (1734–1794). In 1757 appeared James Kennedy's *New Description of the Pictures*, etc., at Wilton Hall.

[2] A part of the MS. is missing.

[3] John Wallop, second Earl of Portsmouth (1742–1797).

[4] He lodged near the Haymarket. An "Extract from a genuine Letter just received from a Person of considerable character in Boston, brought by Captain Lyde" appeared in the *London Chronicle*, November 15–17, 1774.

[5] Thomas Bromfield (1733–1816), who went to England to be associated in business with his brother Henry (1727–1820). Their sister, Abigail, married William Phillips.

[6] Edward (1732–1779) and Charles Dilly (1739–1807), the well-known booksellers, at 22 in the Poultry, with American connections.

[7] John Williams, father of Jonathan Williams. In 1768 he had been threatened by a mob, but had shown courage in meeting the emergency. 2 *Proceedings*, X. 66, 68. He married Anne, a sister of Benjamin Franklin. Jonathan Williams (1753–1780), a nephew of Franklin, and at that time living with him. He studied law in the office of John Adams. 1 *Proceedings*, XIX. 151.

Waited upon Dr. B. Franklin [1] and drank tea with him. He appears in good health and spirits, and seems warm in our cause, and confident of our ultimate success.

I find many friends to liberty and America rejoiced on notice of my arrival.

One of the Sons of Liberty (unknown to me) informed Mr. B[romfield] that he heard one in the coffee-house to-day say, "Yes, he has been *blowing up* the *seeds* of sedition in America and has now come to do the same here."

I desired Mr. B. to convey word that if I had done nothing but *blow up seeds*, they would probably be very harmless, as they would never take root; but if I should have the good fortune to *sow any here* and they should afterwards *ripen*, he or the ministry might *blow them about* at their leisure.

I find among a certain set of Americans there was great wonderment made at the N. E. Coffee-house about what brought me to London. My *Observations* [2] have been reprinted here with approbation, as I hear.

Wrote a long letter to E——. Number four.[3]

November 18. This morning Jno. Williams, Esqr., Inspector of the Customs in the M[assachusett]s Bay waited upon me and we had more than an hour's private conversation together. He informed me that Governor Hutchinson had repeatedly assured the Ministry that a union of the Colonies was utterly impracticable, that the people were greatly divided among themselves in every colony, and that there could be no doubt that all America would *submit*, and that they *must*, and moreover would, *soon*.

It is now not five minutes since Mr. W. left me, and these I think were his very words; he added, moreover, that Governor H. had not only repeatedly told the Ministry so, as several of the Lords had informed him, but that Governor Hutchinson had more than once said the same to persons in the Ministry in his presence.[4]

[1] Probably at Craven Street. From the printed account of this visit in Quincy's letter to his wife, the following sentences have been omitted. "You will discern a little vanity in the communication of this anecdote, but you have seen so many of my foibles before, I tho't I would not hide this from you. Take care lest this communication don't infect your heart with its contagion."

[2] His *Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port-Bill* was reprinted in London by Edward and Charles Dilly.

[3] *Memoir*, 195. The MS. is dated "London, 13th Novr., 9 o'clock in the Eveng.," an evident error. It opens "My amiable and Dr. friend," and continues that he is "snug" at his lodgings near the Hay-Market, and "with you and my *real* friends," etc. The words "snug" and "real" were omitted in the printed volume, and like liberties have been taken throughout the text.

[4] See Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 300.

Mr. Williams desired to wait upon me to see Lords North and Dartmouth, but as it was not at their Lordships' desire he made the request, I declined going for the present.

Mr. Williams also presented the complements of Corbin Morris, Esqr.[1] (one of the Commissioners of the Customs, and a gentleman high in the sentiments of Administration) with a request that I would come and dine with him to-day; but being engaged to dine out this and several succeeding days, I was obliged to decline the invitation.

Dined with Dr. Franklin in company with Dr. Bancroft[2] and Mr. Williams.

Dr. Franklin confirmed the account given by John Williams, Esqr., relative to Governor H[utchinson], so far as that several of the nobility and Ministry had assured him of the same facts.

Went this evening to Covent Garden Theatre. Saw the Beggars' opera, with the farce of Cross Purposes acted, with dances between the acts of the opera. Shuter[3] acted well the part of Peacham, and the actresses in several striking elegancies of gesture, voice and action, convinced [me] that women equal men [in the] powers of eloquence.[4]

I am still further satisfied in my opinion that the stage is the nursery of vice, and disseminates the seeds of vice far and wide with an amazing and baneful success.[5]

November 19. Early this morning Jno. Williams, Esqr., waited upon me with the complements of Lord North, and his request to see me this morning. I went about half past nine o'clock and found Sir George Savile[6] (as Mr. W. informed me) in the levee room. After a short time his Lordship sent for Mr. W. and myself into his apartment. His reception was polite and with a cheerfull affability. His Lordship soon enquired into the state in which I left American af-

[1] Corbyn Morris (d. 1779). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, xxxix. 92.

[2] Edward Bancroft (1744–1821), author of *Review of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies* (1769).

[3] Edward Shuter (1728?–1776).

[4] On the 19th a "Masque" of "The Druids" was performed at Covent Garden in which the following actresses took part: Miss Dayes, Miss Brown, Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Ogilvie and Mrs. Willems. In the second performance of the masque a "happy trick" was introduced, of giving Pantaloon an "American suit of tar and feathers," which occasioned an "uncommon roar through the house." *London Chronicle*, November 19–22, 1774.

[5] In 1769 a report that the British soldiers in Boston were preparing to give theatrical representations gave uneasiness to the sober-minded community and protests were made against them as contrary to the law. Drake, *History of Boston*, 756.

[6] (1726–1784), who had in the previous May protested against the Boston Port Bill as a "most extraordinary exertion of legislative power," and remained a warm friend of America.

fairs. I gave him my sentiments upon them, together with what I took to be the causes of most of our political evils — gross misrepresentation and falsehood. His Lordship replied he did not doubt there had been much, but added that very honest [men] frequently gave a wrong state of matters through mistake, prejudice, prepossessions and biasses of one kind or other.

I conceded the possibility of this, but further added that it would be happy if none of those who had given accounts relative to America had varied from known truth, from worse motives.

We entered largely into the policy and propriety of the Port-bill. In the conversation upon this subject I received much pleasure. His Lordship several times smiled and once seemed touched.

We spoke considerably upon the sentiments of Americans of the right claimed by Parliament to tax, and of the destruction of the tea and the justice of payment for it.

His Lordship went largely and repeatedly into an exculpation of the Ministry. He said they were obliged to do what they did; that it was the most lenient measure that was proposed; that if Administration had not adopted it, they would have been called to account; that the nation were highly incensed, etc.

Upon this topick I made many remarks with much freedom and explicitness, and should have said more had not his Lordship's propensity to converse, been incompatible with a full indulgence of my own loquacity.

His Lordship more than thrice spoke of the powers of Gt. B., of the determination to exert to the utmost in order to effect the submission of the Colonies. He said repeatedly we must try what we can do to support the authority we have claimed over America, if we are defective in power we must set down contented and make the best terms we can, and nobody then can blame us after we have done our utmost; but till we have tried what we can do, we can never be justified in receding; and we ought and shall be very carefull not to judge a thing *impossible*, because it may be *difficult*, nay we ought to try what we *can* effect before we determine upon its *impracticability*. This last sentiment and very nearly in the same words was often repeated — I thought I knew for what purpose.

His Lordship spoke also upon the destruction of the *Gaspee*, and in direct terms twice said that the *Commissioners* were appointed *to try* that matter, and had transmitted accounts that they could obtain no evidence. This declaration being in flat contradiction to what I had several times heard Chief Justice Oliver declare to be the case from the bench, when giving his charges to the jury, was particularly noticed by me. His Honor ever most solemnly declared, in public and private, that the Commissioner was to try whether any

such offence had happened, in order to send word to England, that so a trial might or might not be ordered as the evidence might be; and in the most express terms declared the Commissioners had *no power to try*.

In the course of near two hours' conversation many things more passed between us. As many letters and messages were delivered his Lordship while I was present, I several times rose to depart, telling his Lordship I was afraid I should trespass on his patience or the concerns of others, but being requested to stay, I tarried about two hours and then rose to go, but his Lordship kept standing while he continued his conversation with his usual spirit. Upon my departure he asked me when I should leave England. I told him it was uncertain, but imagined not this twelve month. He hoped the air of the Island would contribute to my health and said he thought the most unhealthy months were past, and then saying, "I am much obliged to you for calling on me," we left each other to our meditations.[1]

Mr. Williams the same [day] presented the compliments of Mr. Commissioner Morris, before mentioned, and requested my dining with him on Tuesday next.

Traversed round St. James['s] Park and then went to Islington to dine with Mr. Bromfield, where [were] three or four high sensible Whigs whose conversation and politeness enlivened and gratified me.

I was flattered with the idea that many worthy men rejoiced at my coming both to prevent evil and do good.

Mr. Welsh, one of the company with whom I dined, desired me to be upon my guard against the temptations and bribery of Administration. If you are corruptible, Sir, added he, the Ministry will corrupt you. This sentiment was confirmed by all present. They further informed me that as all the morning papers mentioned me by name as the author of the *Observations*, etc., and as having arrived in town, several at the Coffee-houses wondered how "I *dared* to come." [2]

I am often told that many rejoice that I am come over, and have many evidences hourly given me to induce me to think I have some, and reason to hope that in time, I shall have more friends.

[1] Hutchinson gives a version of this interview in *Diary*, I. 299, derived from Pownall and William Knox, under Secretary of State for America and a warm supporter of the acts of the ministry. In that version North pronounced Quincy to be "a bad, insidious man, designing to be artful without abilities to conceal his design."

[2] "Josiah Quincy, Esqr; who arrived on Friday from Boston, had the next day a long conference with the Secretaries of State." *London Chronicle*, November 19–22, 1774.

It is whispered that orders are gone to America to apprehend Gen. Lee.[1] But I don't believe it.

Went to hear divine service at Westminster Abbey. Cursorily viewed the astonishing work, which I intend shortly to give more attention to. The service — mockery and priestcraft.

November 20. Dined with Messrs. Dillys in company with Dr. Franklin, Mr. Sh[eri]ff Lee,[2] Dr. Davis, and others. With whom spent the afternoon and evening, Lee said he had long thought and would soon set on foot a subscription for the Americans.

I find every day more reason to think that multitudes of fervent friends to America reside in this Island.

November 21. Went to Westminster Hall, and attended the Court of Chancery King's Bench and Common Pleas. Saw nothing to excite my love or respect. Waited on Governor Pownall[3] and had two hours' conversation with him.

Dined with Sh[eri]ff Lee with divers friends of Liberty.

November 22. Dined with Corbin Morris, Esqr., one of the Commissioners of the Customs (supposed framer of the annual ministerial budget, being a choice friend of the Ministry), in company with one of the officers of the Treasury and Jno. Williams, Esqr.

Mr. Morris was sensible, intelligent, and very conversible. The whole conversation was on American affairs. He entered largely into the claims, the rights and the duty of Parliament. He spoke as might be expected. I observed a remarkable conformity of sentiment between him and Lord North, and an equally observable similarity of language. Mr. Morris expatiated largely upon the infinite resources of commerce, wealth and power of the English nation: I heard him.

The following address to me was a little singular, not to say laughable; but I never smiled: "Mr. Q. you are a man, etc. (flummery); you have seen some of the Ministry and have heard more of the disposition of administration. You find that they have no inclination to injure, much less to oppress the Colonies. They have no wish but that of seeing the Americans free and happy. You must be sensible of the right of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies, and of the power of the nation to enforce their laws. No power in Europe ever provoked the resentment or bid defiance to the Powers of this Island but they were made to repent of it. You must know

[1] Charles Lee (1731–1782), of the British army, and at the time on half pay. He had written *Strictures on a Friendly Address* [by Dr. Myles Cooper] *to all reasonable Americans.*

[2] William Lee (1737–1795), of Virginia, brother of Richard Henry and Arthur Lee. See Ford, *Letters of William Lee.*

[3] Thomas Pownall (1722–1805).

your countrymen must fail in a contest with this great and powerfull people. Now as you find how inclined Administration are to lenity and mildness, you should, you ought to write to your friends this intelligence, and endeavour to influence them to their duty. I don't doubt your influence would be very great with them, and you would by this means be doing a lasting service to your country"!!!

November 23. Dined with Messrs. Dilleys and a few friends of Liberty, and spent the residue of the day in deliyering letters.

At night Mr. Inspector Williams waited on me with the compliments of Lord Dartmouth and requested my waiting on [him] tomorrow, ten o'clock.

Mr. Williams gave me a curious account of a conversation with his Lordship relative to my *Observations*.

Received the compliments of Governor Pownall to breakfast with him.

November 24. Waited upon Lord Dartmouth and had about an hour and a half's conversation with him.

I was convinced that the British and American controversy would be much sooner and much more equitably settled if it was not for the malevolent influence of a certain Northern personage now in Gt. B.[1]

Lord D. being called out for a few minutes to attend the physicians of his Lady, made his apology, and taking up a pamphlet that lay on his table, said, "I would entertain you with a pamphlet during my absence, but I fancy you have seen *this*. I think you know the author of it, don't you?" His Lordship bowed with a smile, which I returned, and he retired for a few minutes.

Was introduced by Drs. Franklin and Price[2] and spent part of the afternoon and evening with the Royal Society.

Spent the residue of the evening with a club of friends of Liberty at the London Coffee[-house]. Was there introduced by Drs. Franklin and Price to Mr. Alderman Oliver,[3] Mr. Vaughan,[4] eight or nine dissenting clergymen, and several other gentlemen.

I found the most sanguine hopes of good from the spirit of the Americans, and the most ardent wishes for their success.

Dr. Franklin acknowledged to me that he was the author of the

[1] Hutchinson. Lord Dartmouth had received the pamphlet on the previous day, and had talked with Hutchinson upon it and upon the writer. Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 301, 304.

[2] Richard Price (1723–1791).

[3] Richard Oliver (1734?–1784).

[4] Samuel Vaughan, a West India merchant, married Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Hallowell, of Boston, and had two sons, Benjamin (1751–1835) and William (1752–1830). See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XIX. 342.

"Way to make a great Empire a little one," and the "Edict of the King of Prussia." [1]

I have been every day more and more astonished to find [the] extravagant hatred there is prevailing among multitudes of this kingdom against the Scotch nation.

November 25. Received complimentary visits from Governor Pownall, Mr. Wentworth [2] and others. Went and viewed the inside of St. Paul's.

Mrs. Wright [3] visited and spent the evening with me, and afforded much entertainment by her account of what [is] said and conjectured about me, my views and business.

November 26. Breakfasted with Governor Pownall and spent three hours with him in conversation upon American affairs. Governor P. said to me, "Mr. Q. I do assure [you] all the measures against America were planned and pushed on by Bernard and Hutchinson. They were incessant in their application to Administration and gave the most positive assurances of success; and I do assure [you] America has not a more determined insidious and inveterate enemy than Governor Hutchinson. He is now doing and will continue to do all he can against you."

Dined with Mr. Rogers [4] (a banker), at Newington Green, in company with many friends of Liberty.

November 27. Wrote letter to E.[5] by December Packet, another to J. Q., Esqr.[6]

Dined with Dr. Franklin and spent the evening with him and his friends.

November 28. Went to Westminster Hall and heard Lord Chief J[ustice] Mansfield deliver the opinion of the Court *seriatim* in Campbell's case of the four and one-half per cent duty.[7] He was perspicuous and eloquent.

[1] "Rules by which a Great Empire may be reduced to a small one" and "Edict by the King of Prussia." See Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth), VI. 118 and 127.

[2] Paul Wentworth.

[3] Patience Wright (1725–1786).

[4] Thomas Rogers, father of Samuel Rogers, the poet-banker. Quincy wrote to his wife on the 27th: "I yesterday heard two eminent bankers and three very wealthy merchants say that, as soon as America shall free herself from the tyranny of this country, they would take *their all* and remove to New England: and they affirmed that they knew many more resolved to do the same."

[5] *Memoir*, 205.

[6] A copy of this letter is in the Quincy Papers, 80.

[7] The case is summarized in Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 307, and the *London Chronicle*, November 26–29, 1774. The decision was against the contention of the government. Lord Mansfield's speech is in the *London Chronicle*, December 3–6, 1774.

Dined with Mr. Keen [1] and spent the afternoon and evening with Lady Huntingdon.[2] She is a sensible woman with a most benevolent heart.

November 29. Went to the House of Peers, saw the grand procession of the King, his reception of the New House of Commons in his robes and diadem, surrounded with his nobles and great officers. I was not awe-struck with the pomps. The gigling and phiz of his Majesty impressed, etc. The trappings of a monarchy will set up a Commonwealth. John Milton. Robert Howard.[3]

Went to the Drury Lane Theatre, saw Garrick in the Beau[x] Strategem.[4] He is a surprising fellow.

November 30. Went to the House of Peers; got to the foot of the throne and saw the formality of presenting a new speaker by the Commons; [5] heard deliver his speech from the throne,[6] etc.

Heard the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry [7] read prayers — as most bishops do, without *grace* in the heart or expression.

Spent the afternoon and evening with Mr. Pearson and his friends.

December 1. Dined with Mr. Roger of the Treasury in company with a Commissioner of the Treasury, two members of Parliament and others.

Went at six with Dr. Franklin to Samuel Vaughan, Esqr.'s seat at Wanstead,[8] where we spent our time very happily till Saturday night.

December 4. Dined with Sh'ff [William] Lee and Mr. Arthur Lee.[9]

December 5. Breakfasted with Sir George Saville in company with Mr. Hartley [10] a member of Parliament; two hours' conversation on American affairs.

[1] Possibly Whitshed Keene, brother-in-law of Lord Dartmouth, and member for Montgomery Borough, Wales.

[2] Selina Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (1707–1791). Her house was in Spa Fields, London.

[3] Sir Robert Howard (1585–1653).

[4] By George Farquhar.

[5] Sir Fletcher Norton (1716–1789).

[6] The King's speech is in the *Annual Register*, 1774, 263. Hutchinson was more impressed by the scene. *Diary*, I. 310.

[7] Brownlow North (1741–1820), a brother of Frederick, Lord North.

[8] In Essex on the Roding.

[9] Dr. Arthur Lee (1740–1792), a brother of William Lee.

[10] David Hartley (1732–1813). "This was occasioned by what one of the Members — I think it was a new Member — Mr. Hartley said in the debate [December 6] — that he had been informed there was a letter in the Secretary of State's Office from Mr. Flucker (I suppose he meant Cushing), that if things could be put upon the footing they were in the year 1764, the Colonies would be content. This same Hartley, Quincy, by some means or other, had made himself known to, and when Quincy was at the door, Hartley came out more than once, and inquired for him, and I think must have taken that hint from him." Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 317.

Dined with Col. Boyd at the Edinburgh Coffee House.

The exertions of my lungs for a number of days past has brought on my spitting of blood again.

December 6. About ten this morning Mr. Commissioner Morris waited on me and stayed with me about an hour and a half. His conversation was much upon the propriety of my laying down some line to which the Colonies would accede and by which the present controversy might be amicably adjusted.

He urged much my waiting again upon Lord North and Lord Dartmouth and insisted upon the propriety and expediency of this step. I thought I could discern the origin and drift of this curious discourse.

He also in the course of conversation said, "Mr. Q. you can have no idea of the taxes of this kingdom and the distress of our poor. I don't mean our *manufacturers*, but our hedgers and ditchers and threshers. They have not now their twelve pence, ten pence, or eight pence a day, but they are glad to get six pence a day for their labor; and may be once a week they may have a little kind of something given them by way of charity for dinner. They are extreme poor and wretched indeed: everything here is taxed to the utmost. The Colonies must relieve us, they must ease us of our taxes, etc.

He also affirmed to me that Governors H[utchinson] and B[ernard] were principally attended to in the late measures against the Colonies. But he added that Government had found that many things had turned out different from Mr. H's representation and that things had not been at all conformable to what he foretold.

December 7. Mr. Inspector Williams called upon me this morning and again renewed to me assurances that Governor H. was the alone cause and presser on of the measures against Boston and all America. "'Tis his advice that dictated the steps of administration, and 'tis his present opinion and assurances that keep up the spirits and measures of the Ministry," were his very words.[1]

Wrote a long political letter to E ——[2] inclosed B C By N. Y. Packet. Ditto to ditto inclosed Apple[ton]: & Co. Sent by the *Beulah*, Capt. Bussell, via New York.

Sent Mr: Bollan's letter to Mr. Bowdoin[3] inclosed to William Dennie.[4] Sent by same ship.

December 8. Spent the day and night at Mr. Thornton's[5] elegant seat at Clapham.

[1] Williams was awaiting a confirmation of his office in the customs, and seems to have acted officiously on this occasion. Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 318, 326.

[2] *Memoir*, 216.

[3] Printed in 6 *Collections*, IX. 379.

[4] Of Boston.

[5] Henry Thornton (?), member for Southwark in 1782.

December 9. Returned from Mr. Thornton's, dined at home, and spent the afternoon and evening with Dr. Franklin alone.

December 10. Dined with Mr. Allyne[1] an eminent Counsellor at Law, and spent [the] evening with him and Dr. Franklin, Messrs. Lees, Galloway,[2] a member of Parliament, and others.

December 11. Spent the day and evening at Books.

December 12. At the desire of Lord Shelburne[3] (transmitted by Dr. Price) I waited on his Lordship and spent two hours in conversation on American affairs. His Lordship appeared a very warm friend to the Americans, approved much of their conduct and spirit, and said if they continued united, they must have all they ask. He said the Ministry would not be able to carry on a civil war against America — that they began to hesitate and would be obliged to give way.

His Lordship confirmed my former intelligence of Governor Hutchinson's assiduity, assurance and influence. But in the end observed that the eyes of the nation and ministry must soon be opened.

He particularly said that Lord Mansfield last sessions assured the House of Lords that the plan they had laid would go down in America *sine clade*, and affirmed that he had the best intelligence what might be carried through there. Lord Shelburne intimated that he had no doubt Lord Mansfield's opinion was grounded on Governor H[utchinson]'s information.

I had before had a very similar account of Lord M's declarations in the House from Mr. Counsellor Allyne and Arthur Lee.

Went to the Drury Lane Theatre and saw Garrick in Hamlet. He is certainly the Prince of Players, but most certainly is not without his faults as an Orator.

Saw also the ridiculous new farce called the Cobbler.

Received W. P's[4] and E——a's letters of October 17, 1774.

December 13. Dined with Mr. Hollis[5] (brother to the late benefactor[6] of Harvard Colledge) with a large circle of friends to liberty, and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin.

December 14. W[rote] to E.[7]

[1] John Alleyne, a friend of Franklin.

[2] William Monkton, Lord Viscount Galway, in the Kingdom of Ireland, represented Pontefract Borough, Yorkshire, in the Parliament of 1768, but was not elected to that of 1774.

[3] William Petty, Lord Shelburne, and first Marquis of Lansdowne (1737–1805).

[4] William Phillips.

[5] Thomas Brand Hollis.

[6] Thomas Hollis (1720–1774).

[7] *Memoir*, 224.

Spent the evening with Mr. Sayre [1] in company with Dr. F. and others.

In the course of conversation Dr. F. said that more than sixteen years ago, long before any dispute with America, the present Lord Camden,[2] then Mr. Pratt, said to him, "For all what you Americans say of your loyalty and all that, I know you will one day throw off your dependance upon this country, and notwithstanding your boasted affection to this country, you will set up for independence."

Dr. F. said that he assured him no such idea was entertained in the mind of the Americans, and no such idea will ever enter their heads unless you grossly abuse them.

Very true, replied Mr. Pratt, that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event.

N. B. This evening settled [3]

St. James's Chron[icle]	Dr. F[ranklin].
Pub[lic] Adver[tiser]	S[ayre?]
Lond[on] Ev[enin]g [Post]	A[rthur] L[ee].
At Large	Sh[eri]ff L[ee].
Pub[lic] Ledger	P——n H I——.

December 15. Breakfasted with Sir George Saville, and spent three hours with him and two other members of Parliament.

Dined with Mr. Towgood [4] with a large circle of warm friends to America.

December 16. Attended the House of Commons and heard a debate on American affairs.[5] Heard Lord North explain what he meant when he said he would have America at his feet. Heard also Lord Clare,[6] Governor Johnson,[7] Mr. Rigby,[8] Charles Fox,[9] Mr. Hartley, and Mr. Crugher [10] (his first essay) and others in the course of the debate.

[1] Stephen Sayre (1734–1818), an American merchant in London, and Sheriff of London in 1774.

[2] Charles Pratt (1714–1794), first Earl of Camden.

[3] This appears to have been a division of newspapers among the Americans in London, but whether they were to write for them or merely to scrutinize with a view to sending to the colonies matter interesting to the colonists cannot be known. The press of London was at this time so under the influence of the ministry that free communication of American interests would hardly have been possible. The sheet wherein such matter did appear — the *London Chronicle* — is not mentioned in the list.

[4] Michaijah Towgood (1700–1792).

[5] See Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 326.

[6] Robert Craggs, Viscount Clare, representing St. Mawes, Cornwall.

[7] George Johnstone (1730–1787).

[8] Richard Rigby (1722–1788).

[9] Charles James Fox.

[10] Henry Cruger, Jr., of New York, representing Bristol.

Supped at the request of Alderman Oliver,[1] with Mr. Fuller[2] and divers members of Parliament at the King's Arms Tavern, where spent the evening in conversation on political subjects affecting the Colonies.

N.B. Mr. Rose Fuller told me his late election cost him ten thousand sterling and more.

Wrote a letter to E.[3]

December 17. Wrote Mr. McDougall,[4] New York. Inclosed two last letters to E. to him.

Received Mr. Reed's letter from Philadelphia.[5] Spent the morning and afternoon in writing, and the evening with Dr. Franklin, Arthur Lee and Dr. Bancroft.

Wrote very long letter to Mr. Reed.[6]

December 18. Spent the Sabbath at Islington with Mr. Bromfield.

December 19. Wrote to E——a[7] and inclosed the rough draft of my letter to J. R. of Philadelphia.

Wrote another letter to [Mr.] McDougall of New York, inclosing the six last letters to him. Dined with Col. Boyd[8] in company with three members of Parliament, two or three of the bar, and other gentlemen.

Spent the evening with Dr. Franklin.

This evening received a letter from Jno. Dickinson, Esqr. of Philadelphia.

December 20. Wrote an answer to Mr. Dickinson and sent to Mr. McDougall by the same conveyance.

Dined with Messrs. Dillys in large circle of friends.

December 21. Spent the morning at home. Visited by Mr. Hartley, member for Hull.[9] Dined at the Cecil Coffee house.

Spent the evening at Covent G[arden] Theatre, where was presented Jane Shore[10] and Milton's Masque of Comus. Mr. and Mrs. Barry[11] performed well: Mrs. Hartley[12] better. Comus was altered

[1] A member for London.

[2] Rose Fuller, member for Rye.

[3] *Memoir*, 229.

[4] Alexander McDougall (1731–1786).

[5] Joseph Reed (1741–1785). The letter, dated November 4, is in *Memoir*, 172. Reed was in close correspondence with the Earl of Dartmouth.

[6] *Memoir*, 231. The "association" entered into by the members of the Continental Congress appeared in the *London Chronicle*, December 15–17, 1774.

[7] *Memoir*, 237.

[8] This may have been John Boyd, of Great George Street, Westminster, who sat in the Parliament of 1780 for Wareham Borough. Another possibility, yet even less a probability, was Hugh Boyd (1748–1794), a contributor to the *Public Advertiser*, and one of the reputed authors of "Junius."

[9] More properly, Kingston-on-Hull, Yorkshire.

[10] Nicholas Rowe's tragedy of "Jane Shore."

[11] Spranger Barry (1719–1777) and Ann (Street) Spranger Barry (1734–1801).

[12] Elizabeth Hartley (1751–1824).

much for the worse, and no part was performed well but the part by Miss Catley,[1] which being wanton, was done admirably by her.

December 22. Breakfasted with Mr. Hartley above named, spent about two hours in conversation on American affairs, and afterwards a like space of time with Rose Fuller, Esqr., another member of the House.

Spent the residue of the day and evening at the London Coffee-house [2] with the Wednesday Club of friends to Liberty and Science. A question was debated by assignment, whether capital punishments are in any case warrantable in right.

N.B. This day delivered my accepted bill of exchange for two hundred pounds sterling on Messrs. Champ[ion] & Dickason [3] to Messrs. E. and C. Dilly who are to advance me money as I want it.[4]

December 23. Mr. Inspector Williams called on me and assured me Gov. H[utchinson] was a most inveterate and indefatigable enemy against me with the Ministry, and very broadly intimated that Lords Darthmouth and North had both told him so.

He also assured [me] that Dr. Paine had appealed to him to use his influence with Administration to get him a place in America, and had offered Mr. Williams any reasonable sum of money for his present office of Inspector, in case Williams would voluntarily resign in his favor, or would recommend him (Paine) in case he (Williams) was advanced to be a commissioner.

Dined in a family way with Samuel Vaughan, Esqr., from whom received a fee of five guineas for opinion, advice, and retainer relative to his claim on the Estate of Benjamin Hallowell, Esqr. deceased.

Received two letters of the 25th and 27th of October last from my good friend Joseph Reed, Esqr., of Philadelphia.[5]

Drank tea and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin.

December 24. Dined with Mr. Vaughan and went to Wanstead and kept Christmas, and did not return till this

December 27. Returned from Mr. V's and dined in a circle of friends with Messrs. Dillys, from whom received twenty-five guineas in a banknote and gold, on account of my bill of exchange delivered then 22d. instant.

[1] Ann Catley (1745–1789).

[2] On Ludgate Hill. It was the place of meeting for the Whig club.

[3] Alexander Champion and Thomas Dickason, merchants in London with American connections.

[4] A letter to Mrs. Quincy of this date is in *Memoir*, 239.

[5] *Ib.*, 165, 167.

This evening went to Cox's Museum,[1] which exhibits the most superb piece of mechanism in the world.

Wrote letter to William Phillips, Esqr.

December 28. Visited by Governor Pownall, Mr. Thornton and others. Spent the afternoon and evening in preparing for a tour to Bath with Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr. Williams.

Subscribed twenty-one letters of recommendation for Mr. Vaughan[2] to my friends in America.

December 29. Set off with the preceding gentlemen for Bath.

December 30. Visited Dr. Priestly at Calne[3] and was received very politely.

Visited Lord Shelburne at his superb seat at Bow-wood, was very much urged to spend the day and night by his Lordship, but declined the invitation; and proceeded to Bath where I arrived about five o'clock, and then went to a grand ball at the Lower Rooms. About one hundred very old and very ugly, and two hundred very Bath coquets composed the female circle; and the men were well calculated for partners for such ladies.

December 31. Visited the celebrated Mrs. Macaulay[4] and delivered my letters to her, and was favored with a conversation with her of about an hour and a half, in which I was much pleased with her good sense and liberal turn of mind. She is indeed a most extraordinary woman.

Was waited upon by Hon. Jno. Temple, Esqr.,[5] to see the Circus and the Crescent and other places of public resort and notice at Bath. Then I took a walk of about two hours round at a distance from the town, where on the hills encircling this splendid city I had a most enchanting prospect.

January 1. 1775. At the Pump Room had about half an hour's conversation with the celebrated Col. Barry[6] on American affairs.

Went to hear divine service performed at the Abbey Church in this city.

[1] James Cox. See *London Chronicle*, November 10–12, 1774. Hutchinson was "agreeably disappointed" in it, "some part of the machinery being extremely ingenious; and though there is a mixture of much puerile entertainment, upon the whole, I thought the exhibition well worth seeing." *Diary*, I. 229.

[2] Probably Benjamin Vaughan.

[3] Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), now serving as librarian or "literary companion" to Lord Shelburne. Calne was in Wiltshire, near Bowood. Priestley had just returned from a journey on the continent, and in August, 1774, had made his capital discovery of "dephlogisticated air."

[4] Mrs. Catharine (Sawbridge) Macaulay (1731–1791), author of a History of England. Her house was in St. James's Parade, Bath.

[5] John Temple (1732–1798). See 6 *Collections*, IX. xv.

[6] Isaac Barré (1726–1802).

Went also to the several Coffee-houses of public resort, where I had an opportunity of seeing much of the manners of people at Bath.

Dined with Mr. Temple and spent the evening with him.

Received a very polite billet from Mrs. Macaulay to spend a few hours with her on the morrow or Wednesday.

January 2. Was waited upon by the Honorable Mr. Temple, who spent about an hour with me. Went again over Bath in order to review the buildings.

Spent the afternoon in very improving conversation with Mrs. Macaulay, and went in the evening to a ball at the New Rooms, which was very splendid and full.

The Rooms are most magnificently elegant, and the paintings which cover the windows, taken from the draft of the figures found at the ruins of Herculaneum have a fine effect.

This evening I had about two hours and a half conversation with Col. Barry, and from him I learnt that he was once the friend of Mr. Hutchinson in opposition to Governor Pownall, but that he had for a long time, and especially since his last arrival in England, wholly deserted him.

Col. Barré, while we were viewing the pictures taken from ruins found at Herculaneum, said (pointing with his fingers) I hope you have not the books containing the drafts of those ruins with you. I replied there was one set I believed in the public library at our College. "Keep them there," said he, "and they may be of some service as a matter of curiosity for the speculative, but let them get abroad and you are ruined. They will infuse a taste for buildings and sculpture, and when a people get a taste for the fine arts, they are ruined. 'Tis taste that ruins whole kingdoms; 'tis taste that depopulates whole nations. I could not help weeping when I surveyed the ruins at Rome. All the remains of the Roman grandeur are of works which were finished when Rome and the spirit of Romans was no more, unless I except the ruins of the Emilian Baths. Mr. Q., let your countrymen beware of taste in their buildings, equipage and dress, as a deadly poison." Col. Barré also added in the course of conversation, "About fourteen or fifteen years ago I was through a considerable part of your country, for in the expedition against Canada [1] my business called me to pass by land through Pennsylvania, New Jersies, York, and M. Bay; and when I returned back again to this country, I was often speaking of America, and could not help speaking well of its climate, soil, and inhabitants (for you must know, Sir, America was always a favorite with me); but will you believe it, Sir, yet I assure you it is true, more than two-thirds of this Island at that

[1] He was in Wolfe's regiment.

time thought the Americans were all negroes." I replied "I did not in the least doubt it; for if I was to judge by the late Acts of Parliament, I should suppose that a majority of the people of Gt. B. still thought so, for I found that their representatives still treated them as such."

He smiled and the discourse dropped. Col. Barré was among those who voted for the Boston Port Bill.

January 3. Agreeable to the polite invitation of Lord Shelburne took a post chaise and went from Bath to his Lordship's magnificent seat at Bow-wood. I met his Lordship walking alone at a considerable distance from his mansion-house, and alighted to walk with him over his grounds. His Lordship politely walked into the fields to show me several new invented ploughs, and other like curiosities. He next called his shepherd and we viewed his flock of one thousand sheep, and then proceeded to a place where [were] many ruins (such as paved ways, gold and copper coins, medals, and walls of their baths) of Roman arts. We then proceeded to view his artificial lake, etc. When we arrived at the house, we regaled with a very sumptuous table and very fine wines. Lady Jean (daughter of Earl), her husband, and four other gentlemen dined and spent the evening with us. His Lordship's two only children are very promising sons, the one about eleven, the other about seven years of age.[1] They are educated in the best manner and seem very sprightly geniuses. They kissed all the company round on departing for bed, and took their leave with much grace and propriety.

With his Lordship I went over his splendid buildings, gardens, etc. Every thing is great and truly noble, surpassing any idea that I can convey by my description. His Lordship is said to set down in London at a hundred thousand Sterling; and should think he could not set down at less here.

His Lordship repeatedly assured me he should take the tour of America with his two sons as soon as they were a little older. He seemed to be very much in earnest about the matter.

January 4. Though much pressed by Lord Shelburne to spend another night with him, yet I sett off for Bath, after having taken a review of his Lordship's fine paintings.

His Lordship's politeness and hospitality demand my gratitude and applause.

Arrived at Bath towards evening and went to see Mr. Temple,

[1] Shelburne married in 1765, Lady Sophia Carteret, only daughter of John Carteret, Earl Granville. By her he had two sons: John Henry (d. 1809), and William Granville (d. 1778). She had died in 1771.

and afterwards concluded the evening by attending the lecture of the celebrated George Alexander Stevens.[1]

January 5. Set off from Bath and arrived at Bristol about twelve o'clock. Went to view the exchange and other publick edifices, after which drank tea and spent the evening with Mr. Joseph Waldo, who received me with much cordial hospitality.

January 6. Went over to Clifton and viewed the celebrated grotto and water works of Mr. Goldney.[2] The grotto is undoubtedly the first of any in England. The view from Clifton hill is one of the finest I ever saw.

Went to the hot wells and drank the waters, and then returned through the Park to Bristol.

Dined with Mr. Waldo, and spent the evening in company with Mr. Crugher and Col. Gorham[3] at the American Coffee house.

January 7. Went to view the several glass manufactories and also a Shalloon Manufactory in Bristol. Viewed also Radcliff Church built by the Knights Templars and its three famous paintings. After which took another rout round this second commercial city in the kingdom.

Wrote to John Dickinson, Esqr., by Capt. Spain[4] for Philadelphia.

Wrote E.[5] by Capt. Caldwell for York, who engages to deliver my letter with his own hand.

Supped with Mr. Hayes, merchant in this city, partner with Mr. Sherbrooke[6] of New York, in company with Mr. Crugher and others.

January 8. Dined with Mr. Waldo and spent the evening with him.

January 9. Set out for London.[7]

January 10. Returned to London.

Received letter November 3 and 14 from E——a.
Ditto October 10,[8] 25 and 28. J. Lovell.
Ditto November 3.[9] ditto.

[1] (1710–1784), author of *A Lecture upon Heads*. He had been in America.

[2] Thomas Goldney, of Goldney House?

[3] "Col. Goram also. He is seeking employ in the war against America." Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 375. The name, in either form, is not in the Army List. It may be David Gorham (*c*1715–1786) who is included by Sabine among the loyalists and was one of the "addressers" of Hutchinson in 1774, yet was prominent in the affairs of Barnstable during the war for independence.

[4] Of the *Chalkley*.

[5] *Memoir*, 247.

[6] Miles Sherbrooke.

[7] On January 7 Hutchinson reached Bath, and during his stay saw many of the persons Quincy had seen. *Diary*, I. 345.

[8] Extracts in *Memoir*, 162.

[9] Page 472, *infra*.

Received letter October 21.[1] Dr. Chauncey.

Ditto November 3.[2] ditto.

Ditto November 15. Dr. Oliver Wendell.[3]

January 11. Wrote E——a[4] by Capt. Gordon.

Received Nathaniel Appleton's letter of November 15, 1774.[5]

Received Dr. Chauncey's of November 4, 1774.[6]

January 12. Spent three hours in private conversation with Governor Pownall on American affairs. Received some intelligence from him which I shall forthwith transmit to America.

Received from [him] a present of two sets of his *Administration of the Colonies*, one for Dr. Cooper, the other for myself.

Wrote a long letter to E——a.[7]

Received a letter November 25, 1774, from James Lovell.[8]

Received ditto, December 9, from same.[9]

Received ditto from E——, November 18 and December 7.

Wrote letter to E——a.[10]

January 13. Received visits from Governor Pownall and Mr. Brand Hollis and others.

Received a letter of October 15, November 3, and November 8, from E——a.

Received ditto from my father.[11]

Received ditto from Nancy Quincy.

January 14. Wrote to E——a.[12]

Wrote to Jeremiah Lee, Esqr.[13]

N.B. Sent all the above letters as well as those of Sh[eri]ff Lee and Dr. Baillie[14] inclosed, by Capt. Gordon, who sails in Col. Lee's employ.

January 15. Dined with Mr. Edward Dilly in the family way.

January 16. Received Dr. Warren's letter of November 21, 1774,[15] by Mr. J. Williams, Jr.

[1] Page 471, *infra*.
[2] *Memoir*, 170.
[3] (1733–1818). *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, I. 186.
[4] *Ib.*, 250.
[5] *Ib.*, 174.
[6] In the Quincy MSS.
[7] *Memoir*, 254.
[8] *Ib.*, 180.
[9] Page 483, *infra*.
[10] *Memoir*, 260.
[11] Page 479, *infra*.
[12] *Memoir*, 32.
[13] Of Marblehead. See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXVII. 390.
[14] Page 486, *infra*.
[15] *Memoir*, 176.

Dined with Mr. Brand Hollis in company with Dr. Priestly, Dr. Franklin, Price and others.

January 17. Dined with Mrs. Stevenson[1] with a number of American gentlemen and British ladies in celebration of Dr. Franklin's birthday who made one of the festive company, though he this day enters the [seventieth] year of his age.

January 18. Spent this day and evening at St. James's, in attending the celebration of the Queen's[2] birthday at the drawing and ball room.

The dresses of men and women were splendid and magnificent much beyond anything I had ever before seen.

The Q[ueen] is very [*blank*], but very affable and sprightly.

The young Prince of Wales[3] resembles his mother in countenance and air very much.

The Bishop of Osnaburgh is a very handsome boy.

The little princes are comely eno'.

January 19. Attended H[ouse] of Commons and heard debates between North, Burke and Mr. Eden.[4]

Spent the evening at the London Coffee house with Drs. Franklin, Priestly, Price, Calder[5] and many others.

January 20. Attended the debates of the House of Lords. Good fortune gave me one of the best places for hearing or stealing a few minutes.

Lord Chatham rose like Marcellus, *Viros supereminet omnes*. He seemed to feel himself superior to those around him. His language, voice and gesture were more pathetic than I ever saw or heard before at the bar or senate. He seemed like an old Roman Senator, rising with the dignity of age, yet speaking with the fire of youth. The illustrious sage stretched forth his hand with the decent solemnity of a Paul, and rising with his subject he smote his breast with the energy and grace of a Demosthenes.

This great and astonishing character opened with some general observations on the importance and magnitude of the present American quarrel (as he called it): he enlarged upon the dangerous and ruinous events that were coming upon the nation in consequence of the present dispute and the measures already begun and now carrying on by his Majesty's Ministers. He arraigned their conduct with great

[1] Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, who kept the house in Craven Street in which Franklin boarded.

[2] Charlotte Sophia, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

[3] George-Augustus-Frederick, afterwards George IV.

[4] William Eden (1744–1814), first Lord Auckland, and sitting in the Parliament of 1774 for New Woodstock, Oxfordshire.

[5] John Calder (1733–1815)?

severity and freedom. He then proceeded, "My Lords, these papers from America now laid by Administration for the first time before your Lordships, have been to my knowledge five or six weeks in the pockets of the minister. And notwithstanding the fate of this kingdom hangs upon the event of this great controversy, we are but this moment called to a consideration of this important subject. My Lords, I do not want to look into one of those papers; I know their contents well enough already: I know that there is not a member in this House but is acquainted with their purport also. There ought therefore to be no delay in entering upon this matter; we ought to proceed to it immediately.

"We ought to sieze the first moment to open the door of reconciliation. The Americans will never be in a temper or state to be reconciled (they ought not to be), till the troops are withdrawn. The troops are a perpetual irritation to these people: they are a bar to all confidence and all cordial reconcilement. I therefore, my Lords, move 'That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech His Majesty, That in order to open the Ways towards an happy Settlement of the dangerous Troubles in America, by beginning to allay Ferments and soften animosities there; and above all, for preventing, in the mean time, any sudden and fatal Catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under the daily Irritation of an Army before their eyes, posted in their Town, It may graciously please his Majesty, that Immediate Orders may be dispatched to Genl. Gage for removing His Majesty's Forces from the Town of Boston, as soon as the Rigour of the Season, and other circumstances indispensable to the Safety and accommodation of the said Troops may render the same practicable.'[1]

"The way must be immediately opened for reconciliation. It will soon be too late.

"I know not who advised the present measures: I know not who advises to a perseverance and enforcement of these; but this I will say, that whoever advises them ought to answer for it at his utmost peril.

"I know that no one will avow that he advised or that he was the author of these measures: every one shrinks from the charge. But somebody has advised his Majesty to these measures; and if his Majesty continues to hear such evil counsellors, his Majesty will be un-

[1] At this point of his journal Quincy gave a copy of the following note:

"Lord Stanhope makes his compliments to Dr. Franklin, and at the desire of Lord Chatham sends him the Motion made by him in the House of Lords yesterday, that the Doctor may be possessed of it in the most authentick manner by the communication of the individual paper which was read to the House by the mover himself." See *Writings of Franklin* (Smyth), VI. 361.

done. His Majesty may indeed wear his crown, but the American jewell out of it, it will not be worth the wearing.

"What more shall I say? I must not say that the King is betrayed; but this I will say, the NATION is ruined.

"What foundation have we for our claims over America? What our right to persist in such cruel and vindictive measures against that loyal and respectable people? They say you have no right to tax them without their consent: they say truly representation and taxation must go together: they are inseparable. Yet there is scarce a man in our streets, though so poor as scarce to be able to get his daily bread, but thinks he is the Legislator of America. *Our* American subjects is a common phrase in [the] mouth of the lowest orders of our cities.

"But property, my Lords, is in the sole and entire dominion of the owner: it excludes all the world besides the owner. None can intermeddle with it. It is a unity; a mathematical point; it is an atom; intangible by any but the proprietor. Touch it — and the owner loses his whole property. The touch contaminates the whole mass: the whole property vanishes, the touch of another annihilates it. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely and exclusively his own.

"In the last Parliament all was anger: all was rage. Administration did not consider what was *practicable*, but what was revenge. *Sine clade victor* was the language of the ministry last sessions, but every body knew, an idiot might know, that such would not be the issue. But the ruin of the nation was a matter of no concern, if Administration might be revenged. Americans were abused, misrepresented and traduced in the most atrocious manner, in order to give a colour and urge the most precipitate, unjust, and cruel and vindictive measures that ever disgraced a nation.

> 'Gnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet *durissima* regna;
> *Castigatque*, AUDITQUE . . . :'

AUDITQUE, my Lords. The very infernal spirits, they *chastise*, *castigatque*, sed AUDITQUE, my Lords: the very spirits of the infernal regions HEAR *before* they *punish*.

"If that intemperate American (who said of the Boston Port Bill that if it had been framed in Hell, and presented to his Satanic Majesty for his approbation, *the Devil himself* would not have signed) was to turn commentator on this passage, he would doubtless infer that it was his Lordship's opinion that there was more justice *in Hell* than in the British Parliament.

"But how have this respectable people behaved in all their grievances? With unexampled patience, with unparalleled wisdom.

They chose delegates by their free suffrages: no bribery; no *corruption*, no INFLUENCE here, my Lords. Their representatives meet with the sentiments and temper and speak the sense of the continent. For genuine sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments and simplicity of language, for every thing respectable and honorable, the Congress of Philadelphia shine unrivalled.

"This wise people speak out. They do not hold the language of slaves: they tell you what they mean. They do not ask you to repeal your laws as a favor, they claim it as a right: they demand it. They tell you they will not submit to them: and I tell you the Acts must be repealed, they will be repealed; you cannot enforce them. The Ministry are checkmated: they have [not] a move to make on the board: not a move but they are ruined. Repeal, therefore, my Lords, I say. But bare repeal will not satisfy this enlightened and spirited people. What, repeal a bit of paper, repeal a piece of parchment! That alone won't do, my Lords. You must do thorough work. You must declare you have no right to tax, then they may trust you, then they will have some confidence in you.

"I have heard a noble Lord speak who seemed to lay some blame upon General Gage. I think that honorable gentleman has behaved with great prudence and becoming caution. He has entrenched himself and strengthened his fortifications: I don't know what he could do more. His situation puts me in mind of a similar transaction in the civil wars of France, when the great Condé on one side, and Marshall Turenne on the other, with large armies, lay many weeks very near each other. Turenne conscious of the terrible consequences of a victory to himself and [his] country, though the armies were several days in sight of each other, never came to a battle. On his return to the Court of France, the Queen asked him, why Marshall, I think you lay several days in sight of your enemy, and you might have been up with him at any time: — pray why didn't you take him? The General very shrewdly replied, 'Parce que, Sire, si je l'avois fait tout Paris en revanche m'auroit pris,' 'Should *I take him*, please, your Majesty, I was afraid all Paris would *take me*.'

"My Lords, there [are] three millions of Whigs. Three millions of Whigs, my Lords, with arms in their hands are a very formidable body. 'Twas the Whigs, my Lords, that set his Majesty's royal ancestors upon the throne of England. I hope, my Lords, there are yet double the number of Whigs in England than there are in America. I hope the Whigs of both countries will join and make a common cause. Ireland is with the American to a man. The Whigs of that country will, and those of this country ought to think the American

cause is their own: they are allied to each other in sentiment and interest: united in one great principle of defense and resistance to tyranny and oppression. They ought, therefore, and they will run to embrace and support these brethren.

"The cause of ship-money was the cause of all the Whigs of England. You shall not take my money without my consent is the doctrine and the language of Whigs. 'Tis the doctrine and voice of Whigs in America and Whigs here. 'Tis the doctrine in support of which I do not know how many names I could, I may call in this House: among the *living* I can not say how many I could count to join with me and maintain these doctrines with their blood: but among *the dead*, I could raise an host innumerable. And, my Lords, at this day there are a very many sound, substantial, honest Whigs — Whigs who ought and who will consider this American controversy as a great common cause.

"My Lords, consistent with the preceding doctrines, and with what I have ever and shall continue to maintain, I say I shall oppose America whenever I see her aiming at throwing off the Navigation Act, and other regulatory acts of trade made *bona fide* for that purpose, and wisely framed and calculated for reciprocity of Interest and the general extended welfare and security of the whole empire. 'Tis suggested such is their design. I see no evidence of it. But to come at a certain knowledge of their sentiments and designs on this head, it would be proper first to do them justice: treat them as subjects before you treat them as aliens, rebels and traitors.

"My Lords, deeply impressed with the importance of taking some healing measures at this most alarming, distracted state of our affairs, though bowed down with a cruel disease, I have crawled to this [house] to give you my best experience and council: and my advice is "to beseech his Majesty, etc." This is the best I can think of. It will convince America that you mean to try her cause in the spirit and by the laws of *freedom* and *fair enquiry*, and not by *Codes of Blood*. How can she now trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? She has all the reason in the world now to believe you mean to her death and bondage.

"Thus entered on the threshold of this business, I will knock at your gates for justice, without ceasing, unless inveterate infirmities stay my hand: My Lords, I pledge myself never to leave this business: I will pursue it to the end in every shape. I will never fail of my attendance on it at every step and period of this great matter, unless *nailed* down to my bed by the severity of disease.

"My Lords, there is no time to be lost: every moment is big with dangers. Nay, while I am now speaking the decisive blow may be struck, and millions are involved in the consequence. The very first

drop of blood will make a wound that will not easily be skinned over. Years, perhaps ages, may not heal it. It will be *irritabile vulnus*: a wound of that rancorous, malignant, corroding, festering nature, that in all probability it will mortify the whole body.

"Let then, my Lords set to this business in earnest; not take it up by bits and scraps as formerly just as exigencies pressed, without any regard to general relations, connections and dependencies.

"I would not by anything I have said, my Lords, be thought to encourage America to proceed beyond the right line. I reprobate all acts of violence by her mobility; but when her inherent, constitutional rights are invaded, those rights that she has an equitable claim to the full enjoyment of by the fundamental laws of the English Constitution, and engrafted thereon by the unalterable laws of nature; then I own myself as AMERICAN; and feeling myself such shall, to the verge of my life, vindicate those rights against all men, who strive to trample upon or oppose them." [1]

It beggars all description how such wisdom and eloquence affected a right honorable and right reverend senate of *modern* Britain; but we may conjecture how such a union would have touched, to what deeds it would have moved, and to what noble darings it would have inspired a senate of *Ancient* Sparta or an assembly of *Old Romans*.

Indeed from the effects of this speech on the great audience without the bar, and from my own emotions and feelings, the miracles of ancient eloquence — the blaze of genius and the burst of thought — with which Grecian and Roman orators have been said to work wonders in the senate and the field, no longer appeared fabulous.

Lord Camden (undoubtedly the first common lawyer in England) spoke next on the side of America and support of the motion. He equalled Lord Chatham in everything but that fire and pathos which are the *forte* of his Lordship. In learning, perspicuity and pure eloquence, probably no one ever surpassed Lord Camden.

His Lordship opened briefly upon the nature of property, the right of taxation, and its inseparability from representation.

"My Lords, I will not enter into the large field of collateral reasoning, applicable to the abstruse distinctions touching the omnipotence of parliament. The declaratory law sealed my mouth, and I

[1] What purports to be the report of this speech is in the *London Chronicle*, January 24–26, 1775. A much more full report, taken by Hugh Boyd, was published by Dodsley in 1779 and is in *Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham*, IV. 377 *n*. Minutes, "taken by a member," (which Boyd was not), were twice printed in London and reprinted in Philadelphia and an unknown place, with a Philadelphia translation into German in 1775, but Chatham disclaimed them.

have been silent. But this I will say, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a COMMON LAWYER, my Lords, you have no right to tax America. I have searched the matter. I repeat it, my Lords, you have no right to tax America.

"The natural rights of man and the immutable laws of nature are all with that people. Much stress is laid on the supreme legislative authority of Gt. B. and so far as the doctrine is directed to its proper object, I accede to it. But it is equally according to all approved writers on government, that no man agreeable to the principles of natural or civil liberty could be divested of any part of his property without his consent. Every thing has been staked on the single position that acts of Parliament must be obeyed; but this general, unconditional, unlimited assertion, I am far from thinking applicable to every possible case, that may arise in the turn of times. For my part, I imagine that a power resulting from a trust arbitrarily exercised, may be lawfully resisted, whether the power is lodged in a collective body or single person, in the few or the many. However modified makes no difference.

"Whenever the trust is wrested to the injury of the people, whenever oppression begins, all is unlawful and unjust; and resistance of course becomes lawful and right. But some Lords tell you seriously that you must reduce the Americans to obedience and submission; that is, you must make them absolute and infamous slaves; and *then — what?* We will, say they, give them full liberty. Aye, is this the nature of man? No, my Lords, I would not trust myself, *American* as I am, in this situation. I do not think I should in that case be myself for giving of them liberty. No, if they submitted to such unjust, such cruel, such degrading slavery, I should think they were made for slaves; that servility was suited to their nature and genius; I should think they would best serve this country as their slaves, that their servility would be for the benefit of Gt. Britain; and I should be for keeping such CAPPADOCIANS in a state of servitude, such as was suited to their constitution, and might redound much to our advantage.

"My Lords, some noble Lords talk very much of resistance to Acts of Parliament: Kings, Lords and Commons are fine sounding names. But, my Lords, Acts of Parliament have been resisted in all ages. Kings, Lords and Commons may become tyrants as well as others. Tyranny in one or more is the same. 'Tis as lawfull to resist the tyranny of many as of one. Somebody once asked the great Mr. Selden in what law book, in what records or archives of state you might find the laws for resisting tyranny: I don't know, said Mr. Selden, whether it is worth your while [to] look deeply into the books, upon this matter, but I'll tell [you] what is most certain, that it has

always been the custom of England — and the Custom of England is *the Law of the Land.*

"There is a gentleman whom I need not name, his works are well received and well known, who avoids stating any rule when resistance is lawfull; and he lays down the Revolution as the only precedent: he says that the various circumstances, events and incidents that may justify cannot be defined; but the people at large will judge of their welfare and happiness and act accordingly. The same writer says that whenever a case exactly similar in all its parts and circumstances to the Revolution, when a case shall run upon *all fours* with that, then the law seems to be settled that resistance is lawfull.

"I do not pretend to quote his words, I think his meaning is very much as I have stated it. But undoubtedly in cases in many respects dissimilar, but in equal degree tyrannical and oppressive, resistance may be lawfull, and the people in all ages, countries and climes have at times known these things, and they have, and they will forever act accordingly."

Lord Shelburne in the course of his argument said, "My Lords, we know, *we all know*, that justice and injustice, right and wrong, are not at all considered in the course of our Parliamentary proceedings. We all know that nothing is debated in Parliament for information or conviction, but for *mere form.* Every thing is considered in the cabinet and brought into Parliament not for consideration, but for the sanction of the Legislature, and the screening of the councellors of the King. The measures of Parliament are the measures of the minister, and the measures of this minister are very often those of his Commis!"

The Marquis of Rockingham [1] supported the motion also. Lords Littleton,[2] Suffolk,[3] Gower,[4] Townsend,[5] Rochford,[6] and Weymouth [7] spoke in opposition. I omit stating what their Lordships said, lest I should be suspected by any who may see this journal of an unfair report of their speeches. But a very remarkable saying of Lord Gower's I cannot omit. His Lordship said, "I am for enforcing these measures (and with great sneer and contempt); let the Americans sit talking about their natural and divine rights, their rights as men and citizens; their rights from God and nature."

[1] Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham (1730–1782).
[2] Thomas Lyttelton (1744–1779).
[3] Henry Howard, twelfth Earl of Suffolk (1739–1779).
[4] Granville Leveson-Gower (1721–1803).
[5] George Townshend, first Marquis Townshend (1724–1807).
[6] William Henry [Nassau de] Zuylestein, fourth Earl of Rochford (1717–1781).
[7] Thomas Thynne, third Viscount Weymouth (1734–1796).

The Duke of Richmond [1] in the course of his speech said, "Some noble]Lords] seem to think that regular troops will easily vanquish raw soldiers. But, my Lords, discipline was intended only as a substitute for what the Americans have already: attachment to their cause, virtue to inspire, a common cause — their all to keep them to their duty. Americans will keep to their duty without discipline. They will keep to their standard without fear of discipline in case they desert it. My Lords, Americans have the substance of what discipline is only *the shadow:* discipline is only the substitute for a common cause — to *attach* through fear and keep to their ranks and standard those who would otherwise desert them. But, my Lords, suppose you succeed; you cannot enforce these Acts: you cannot force a form of government upon any people. You may spread fire, sword and desolation, but that will not be government. You must change your places as you make your march of destruction. When you leave one place to subdue another, your government is gone.

"You can't force men to serve in office. You cannot force men to be counsellors, judges, or sheriffs. You can not compel jurors to set on trials. You can't force juries to present offences — in short no people can ever be made to submit to a form of government they say they will not receive."

The House, at about ten, divided, after the preceding debates, on the question, Contents, 18, Non contents, 77, including proxies.

Went from the debates to visit Hugh Baillie, LL.D., a Scotch gentleman of very liberal sentiments, and a most zealous partizan of America.[2] I supped and returned to my lodgings and spent most of the night and morning in entering the preceding speeches.

January 21. Spent the morning with Dr. Franklin. Dined at the Exchange Coffee house with Messrs. Bromfield and Williams, and went for the first time to the serious opera of Armida, in the evening. Some parts of the music exquisitely fine: the dancing elegant indeed: but in general, but a poor entertainment for an Englishman.

N.B. The Duke of R[ichmond], Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden, pledged themselves to attend at all hazards and all times, as Lord Chatham had done.

January 22. Wrote to William Phillips, Esqr.

Ditto to E——a, very long, containing Chatham's speech, etc., etc.[3]

Ditto to Josiah Q., Esqr. The letters to P. and Q. scarcely sealed.

Dined and spent the evening with Dr. Franklin.

[1] Charles Lennox, third Duke of Richmond and Lennox (1735–1806).

[2] In 1775 and 1776 he wrote three tracts in reply to Dr. John Shebbeare and Dr. Samuel Johnson on American questions.

[3] *Memoir*, 278.

January 23. Attended a long debate in the house of Commons on the American affairs.

Speakers for	Against the Americans
[Edmund] Burke	Sir William Meredith [6]
[George] Johnston[e] [1]	Lord North
Charles Fox	Lord Clare
T[homas] Townsend [2]	Sir George McCartney [7]
Lord John Cavendish [3]	Sir G[ilbert] Eliot [8]
Capt. Lutterell [4]	Mr. Adams [9]
Alderman Sawbridge [5]	Lord Stanley [10]
[Aye], 82	No, 197

This debate and division show that if King, Lords and Commons can subdue America into bondage against the almost universal sentiment, opinion, wish and hope of the Englishmen of this Island, the deed will be done.[11]

This night for the first time being in this Island taken very ill with a fever and spasms.

January 24. Visited by Dr. Fothergill [12] who prescribed for my disorder.

Was this day to have dined at Mr. Towgood's with Franklin, Dr. Price, Dr. Jeffries [13] and Dr. Priestly, but my illness prevented that pleasure.

January 25. Visited by Dr. Fothergill, who peremptorily refused his fee, saying, *quem Deus vult perdere prius clementat.*

Received invitation to dine on Friday at Mrs. Huson's,[14] Kensington, and Sunday with Mr. Hollis, — health obliged me to decline both.

Dined at Lord Shelburne's in company with Lord Tankerville,[15]

[1] This name should be in the other column.
[2] Thomas Townshend (1733–1800), member for Whitchurch.
[3] (1732–1796), member for York.
[4] Henry Lawes Luttrell (1743–1821), member for Bossiney and Trevena in Tintagel Borough.
[5] John Sawbridge (1732?–1795).
[6] (1725–1790), member for Liverpool.
[7] Member for Rothesay, etc.
[8] Sir Gilbert Eliot, of Minto (1722–1777), member for Roxburgh-shire.
[9] John Adams, member for Carmathen Borough, Wales.
[10] Edward Smith Stanley, member for Lancaster County.
[11] See Hutchinson, *Diary*, I. 360.
[12] John Fothergill (1712–1780).
[13] Joseph Jeffries. See p. 485, *infra*.
[14] This was probably Mary (Stevenson) Hewson, daughter of Margaret Stevenson.
[15] Charles Bennet, fourth Earl of Tankerville (1743–1822).

Drs. Franklin, Price, Priestly, Counsellors Dunning,[1] Lee,[2] Leigh and several others.

After a very elegant entertainment his Lordship laid before us copies of the papers from America now lying before the two Houses for their consideration.

January 26. Visited by Dr. Fothergill and confined to my house all day.

Mr. Williams watched with me this night.

January 27. Visited by Dr. Fothergill who again refused his fee, saying, "I consider there is a public cause to which we must all contribute."

Waited upon by Mr. Alderman Sawbridge who spent one hour and a half with me in conversation on American and Parliamentary concerns.

Went out to reside with my good friend Mr. Bromfield at Islington while in my present feeble state. Received and treated by this amiable family with great hospitality and kindness, and it is now the *February* 3, during which time I have been treated in the most friendly and amiable manner.

This day Dr. Fothergill visited me, gave me new prescriptions and refused any fee, but at last he received a guinea, which was but half his fee.

February 6. Every day since I have been at Islington I have [received] the greatest evidence of the number and attachment of my friends — who are many and affectionate.

February 7. Mr. Edward Dilly brought me from his jewellers, Mrs. Phillips's diamond ring new set and new diamonds: Allowed for the old gold 4/ Sterling, paid for the new work and materials fifty-one shillings Sterling — balance is £2:7:0.

February 9. Visited by Dr. Fothergill, who again absolutely refused his fees.

Every day visited by more or less of my many friends; and great numbers send daily to enquire after my health whom I never saw.

February 13. Received Mr. Jona. Mason's letter of December 21. And it is a little remarkable that it was put into my hands at the very instant I was writing directions to the jeweller for the motto of two mourning rings for his wife.

February 15. Molleson — generally trading to Virginia.[3]

Norton — in same trade.

[1] John Dunning, first Baron Ashburton (1731–1783), member for Calne.

[2] John Lee (1733–1793).

[3] William and Robert Molleson.

Wooldridge & Co.[1] — in the York trade.
Sh[eri]ff Lee — Virginia trade.
Barclay[2] — Philadelphia.
Mildred — Philadelphia.
Serjeant & Co. — New York.
Athurst[3] — Virginia.
Dupee[4] & Co., or
Henry and Thomas Bromfield — New England.

Take out the above from the list of London merchants and where will you find a friend to America? or rather, are not the residue its bitter enemies at heart?[5]

February 25. This day the celebrated Dr. Burgh,[6] (author of *Political Disquisitions*) who has seen none but his own family for many months, took a double dose of opium to allay the pains of the stone, and sent for me in, and I spent an hour with him.

February 26. Rode out for the fourth time on horseback about twelve or fourteen miles. Evidently better when I am in the open air, and the motion of the horse not fatiguing.

My friends redouble in number and frequency their visits, as the time of my departure for America draws nigh. Among many others this past week, often visited by Dr. Price, Priestly, Franklin, Rogers, Towgood, Sh[eri]ff Lee, Arthur Lee, etc., etc.

It is a good deal against my own private opinion and inclination that I now sail for America.

I have had no letter from thence since they knew of my arrival. I know not what my next letters may contain.

Besides the fine season is now coming on here, and Dr. Fothergill thinks British air and water would give me perfect health.

On the other hand, my most intimate friends (except Mr. Bromfield) insist upon my going directly to Boston: they say no letters

[1] Thomas Wooldridge. See Ford, *Letters of William Lee*, 132 *n.*

[2] David Barclay.

[3] Athawes?

[4] Dupuis is mentioned on p. 468, *infra*.

[5] For the proceedings of the merchants in the American trade in their meeting at the King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill, January 4, 1775, see Force, *American Archives*, 4th Ser., I. 1086; *Ib.*, 1107, for their meeting on January 11, and *Ib.*, 1219, for the meeting of February 11.

Owing to his illness Quincy says nothing of the bill laying restraint upon the trade of the New England colonies, introduced into the House of Commons, February 17, and passed the Commons March 8, four days after Quincy had sailed.

[6] James Burgh (1714–1775). He died in the following August. Two volumes of the Disquisitions appeared in 1774, and a third in 1775. See *Writings of John Adams*, IX. 350.

can go with safety; and that I can deliver more information and advice viva voce than could or ought to be wrote. They say my going now must be (if I arrive safe) of great advantage to the American cause.

February 27. Went to London and paid Mr. Thomas Wingfield's account which contains the articles of two diamond rings, one for Mrs. Phillips, wife of William P., Junior, and the other for Miss Eliza: Mason at eight guineas £16:16:0 Sterling.

Went to Fullam in a post chaise with Mr. Bromfield and dined with Mr. Abraham Dupuis (partner with Mr. Thomas Bromfield), a very amiable, sensible friend of liberty and mankind.

March 1. Went to London in order to go to the British Museum with Dr. Franklin. When we came there we found it was Ash Wednesday and no day of exhibition. I returned with Dr. Franklin to his house, who obligingly gave me a letter to Dr. Morton [1] for my introduction to that world of curiosities on the morrow.

On this day I had about an hour and a half's private conversation with Dr. Franklin on the subject of the present situation of American affairs, and what course America and especially New England ought now and during the spring and summer to hold.

I opened the discourse by telling of him the opinions of Dr. Price, Dr. Priestly, William Lee, Arthur Lee and others on those subjects: The Dr. utterly dissented from them all: he entered largely into the subject, and spoke the most substantial good sense and solid wisdom for near an hour. I wish I might with propriety enter his discourse: it would do lasting honor to his sagacity, judgment, morality and benevolence. I was charmed: I renounced my own opinion: I became a convert to his. I feel a kind of enthusiasm which leads me to believe that it was something almost supernatural which induced this discourse and prompted the Dr. to speak so fully and divinely upon the subject. This interview may be a means of preventing much calamity and producing much good to Boston and the M. Bay, and in the end to all America.[2]

March 2. William Lee, Esqr. (late Sh[eri]ff), came and spent three hours with me in conversation on American affairs.

N.B. Gen. Con. Vote of credit for the raising and supporting [troops] for the defence of the liberties of America in whatever part attacked.

A proper person to [command?]

[1] Charles Morton (1716–1799), principal librarian of the British Museum.

[2] "I am much pleased with Mr. Quincy. It is a thousand pities his strength of body is not equal to his strength of mind. His zeal for the public, like that of David for God's house, will, I fear, eat him up." *Franklin to Bowdoin*, February 25, 1775. *Writings* (Smyth), VI. 310. See also, *Ib.*, IX. 94.

France and Spain [to be approached?]
The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick.[1]
Supposes Boston ought to be abandoned.
Delancey and Watts [2] of N Y to be [watched?]
Urges me much to attend the Congress at Philadelphia and then return from thence here.

This day Thomas Rogers, Esqr., banker near the Exchange, politely presented me with all Dr. Price's works in three volumes very elegantly bound and lettered.

March 3. This day (being the day before my departure) I dined with Dr. Franklin, and had three hours private conversation with him. Disswades from France or Spain or Hereditary Prince of B[runswick]. Intimate with both the Spanish [3] and French Ambassadors: [4] the latter a great shrewd man.

By no means take any step of great consequence (unless on a sudden emergency) without advice of the Continental Congress, and explicitly and in so many words said, that only New England could hold for ages against this country, and if they were firm and united in seven years would conquer them.

Said he had the best intelligence that the manufacturers were bitterly feeling and loudly complaining of the loss of the American trade.

Let your adherence be to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, a year from next September, or to the next sessions of Parliament, and the day is won.

Received this day from my friend Thomas Brand Hollis, Esqr. eight valuable books and eight pamphlets.

Same day received two books and two pamphlets from that most worthy and extraordinary character the Reverend Mr. Theophilus Lindsey, being the whole of his works.[5]

Had great satisfaction in reading my reports of the debates of the House of Lords to one or two friends who heard them: they thought

[1] If this is a suggestion that Ferdinand, duke of Brunswick (1721–1792) be secured to command an army of the American colonies of Great Britain, it is the earliest mention of the name in that connection. On February 13, 1776, Arthur Lee hints at such an appointment, and in the following December Deane suggests "the engagement of a great general of the highest character in Europe, such as Prince Ferdinand, Marshal Broglie," etc. Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, I. 392. He was also considered as a fit commander of the British armies in America, but nothing came of either suggestion.

[2] The De Lanceys were all loyalists, and John Watts was a brother-in-law of James De Lancey.

[3] Prince de Masserano.

[4] Adrien-Louis de Bonnières, duc de Guines (1735–1806).

[5] (1723–1808). See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXIII. 317.

them exceedingly correct, and were amazed at the blunders, omissions and misrepresentations of all the various printed accounts.

Minutes taken from the mouth of Josiah Quincy Junior by a seaman just before his death.

At sea, April 21st, 1775.

Foreseeing that there will be many circumstances unexplained in the way of my friends, to account for many things relating to my conduct, I should have been glad if God had spared my life to converse with them once more, but this his holy Providence seems fully settled to deny, but some few matters I have prevailed with a friend on board to minute for their information.

My going to America at this time was very considerably against my inclination, especially as Dr. Fothergill was of opinion that Bristol waters would be of great advantage to me, but he did not dissuade me from going to America, but advised it strongly in preference to my staying at London or its environs. The great prevailing motives of my going home, were my not being able to procure a friend to accompany me to Bristol, and my being in such a state of health as to require a watcher or lodger in my room to give me sustenance every night. The most weighty motive of all that determined my conduct, was the extreme urgency of about fifteen or twenty most stanch friends to America, many of them the most learned and respectable characters in the kingdom for my immediately proceeding to Boston. Their sentiments what ought to be the conduct of Boston and the continent at this and the approaching season, I had heard very often in the social circle and in what things they differed I perfectly knew. It appeared of high importance that the sentiments of such persons should be known in America, and to commit their sentiments to writing was neither practicable nor prudent at this time. To the bosom of a friend they could intrust what might have been of great advantage to both countries.

To me that trust was committed, and I was immediately on my arrival to assemble certain persons to whom I was to communicate my trust, and had God spared my life, it seems it would have been of great service to my country.

Ever since I have been out almost every thing has been different from what I expected, instead of pleasant weather the most inclement and damp which removes me entirely from deck — and although I was flattered with the hope of getting into port six days ago, I am here as distant from it as I was when the encouragement

was given me. Had Providence been pleased that I should have reached America six days ago, I should have been able to converse with my friends. I am persuaded that this voyage and passage are instruments to put an end to my being. His Holy will be done!

Should I die before I see my friends, my inclination would be that my body should rest in the tomb of my ancestors at Braintree, until my executor under the direction of my most dear and honoured father should be able to erect a large durable stone tomb, on which I would have placed a small durable stone monument and on the top of all be placed a slab of the most durable marble, I would then have my body removed into that tomb. But all this is on the supposition that my most dear and beloved wife will consent to her being laid by me at her death in that town, for this is the last desire of a dying man, the last request of an expiring husband, that she may be laid by my side at her death. To this purpose I am willing to be interred any where, and pray that my request may not be derided, because some people may think it whimsical.

(Mr. Quincy is so low that he probably will not be able to read a word of the foregoing but it is to be hoped it will be intelligible with a little pains.)

Copied from the original manuscript in the hand writing of the sailor.

Letters to Josiah Quincy, Jr.

From Charles Chauncy.[1]

Boston, Octr. 21st, 1774.

Dear Sir, — Not knowing of this opportunity of conveying a letter to you but a few minutes since, and being told that I must in a few minutes write, if at all, I have time only to inclose part of a newspaper, which contains some things of importance, which you will be glad to see; as also to inform you, that Mr. Revere, who came from the Grand Congress last week informs us, that it was supposed that congress would break up, at least for the present, this week.[2] Probably, you will hear from them, and read the result of their proceedings sooner by some vessel from Philadelphia, than from these parts. . . .

Your assured Friend and humble servant,

Charles Chauncy.

[1] (1705–1787), a grandson of the President of Harvard College, and pastor of the First Church, Boston.

[2] The first Continental Congress adjourned October 26, 1774.

FROM JAMES LOVELL.[1]

Novr. 3d, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — For the same Reasons which I have given already for writing by Dundass (be the Name of his Vessel what it will) I add a few Lines. You will receive the Proceedings of our Congress which is adjourn'd till May, from the Gazettes. Indeed you will know more of the last than I can give you as you will know the Contents of the PETITION to the King, and the ADDRESS to the INHABITANTS of Britain, if you do not of that to the Inhabitants of North America and Canada in particular. The non-Importation and non-Exportation and non-Consumption will fly by the Birds of Heaven doubtless.

We are in a little Snarl which I hope will be settled at this Day's Town-Meeting.[2] Jemmy Richardson and Thos. Crafts having often had Conversation with Major Sheriff and sometimes with Mr. Gage, were hereby induced to propose and carry, at a very *small* late Adjournment, a Committee to confer with said Gage upon a Mode of keeping Peace and Quiet with 8 Regiments and more scatter'd among us this Winter, which you will justly conclude impossible. They receiv'd Proposals such as might naturally be expected from a Man who cannot possibly remember in the Hurry of his great military Employment, that he is at the Head of our mangled civil Magistracy. These Proposals were view'd in a proper Light and debate had upon them, in which Mr. Otis spoke cool and consequently up to the Hub; but Church's[3] keenness rais'd such a Warmth the Meeting was adjourned till Today. When I hope the Committee will resign all Care of the Town back into the Hands of the Selectmen. This Proceeding has had too much the Air of Coalescence with the Idea of a garison'd Town, and wounded that Delicacy which had hitherto been observed upon that Head. I said the General forgot the Governor. You are not to think he will not put SOLDIERS under Guard, and thereby *satisfy* the grossest Abuse of OFFICERS upon the civil magistracy. Wiswall,[4] whose first Wife died any how at Cambridge,[5] and whose 2d the Brigadier Doctor gave an Affidavit the Devil did *not* run away with, and whose 3d kept a Dram and Bawdy-House near the Ferry, by which the Guard there was always intoxicated more or less, in particular one

[1] (1737–1814).

[2] Even the gazettes contain no mention of such a meeting.

[3] Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr.

[4] Daniel Wiswall. See *Boston Gazette*, November 7, 1774, and *Boston* Rec. com., XXIII. 231.

[5] She was Sarah Hall, who died in 1769.

Evening the whole being drunk wounded one of the Ferrymen badly, and were ALL *put under Guard*. This same Wiswall and wife were order'd out of Town sec. Leg. last May, and upon fresh Complaints she was carry'd to Charlestown by a Committee the Day before Yesterday; but Lt. Coll'l Boquet [1] of the 5th, upon Complaint of the flying Husband that he was persecuted for Connexion with Camp, sent a Party who pursued to Charlestown and seized the Woman from the Committee before the Charlestown People cou'd afford him aid against Men who with loaded Musquets and Bayonets fixed threatn'd to distroy all Opposition. The General yesterday being press'd by our Select-Men ordered Coll. B. to put the *Soldiers* under Guard, and I suppose will do the same as often as Coll. B., or Capt. C., or Corporal D. shall chuse to call the Lives of the Inhabitants to Risque, and if Death is the Consequence of that Call, he will *send them under Guard* to Lord North, who will most cordially thank them for their Services.

The Owners of a Quantity of Tea at Maryland have burnt Ship and Cargo of Tea after taking out other Things, as much of their *own Accord* as some Counsellers on Mandamus have resign'd.[2] I wish one of Today's Papers may reach you, that you may see whether the Fugitives regard the Stigma of the Congresses, this being the last Day of Grace. Adieu.

J[ame]s L[ovell].

Capt. Trumbull,[3] the Governor's eldest Son is now with me and I have a Letter from Major Parsons.[4] Nothing can exceed the Spirit of that Colony in their military Aims. A Priest Peters [5] whom you will have seen before this reaches [you], has wrote such Threats of the mighty Things he wou'd do against their Charter that they are determined to be perfectly ready. However, the Episcopal Clergy, his Brethren there, are in Convention, and drawing up his infamous Character to send to the Society whose Servant he is for Propagating the Gospel in that *heathenish* Land. Pray get some Knowledge of the Part Caner [6] has taken, and compare it with what shall be given from Connecticutt where the Lyar is

[1] It was Lieut. Col. William Wallcott, of the Fifth Regiment.

[2] The *Peggy Stewart*, owned by Anthony Stewart, with teas consigned to James and Joseph Williams. See Browne, *Maryland*, 261.

[3] Joseph Trumbull (1737–1778).

[4] Samuel Holden Parsons (1737–1789).

[5] Samuel Peters (1735–1826), author of *General History of Connecticut* (1781). A letter written by him to Dr. Auchmuty of New York is in the *Boston Evening Post*, October 24, 1774.

[6] Henry Caner (*c*1700–1792). See Dexter, *Yale Biographies* and Annals, I. 296.

truly known. Judge Auchmuty [1] and Mr. Troutbeck [2] are ashamed of being even supposed to have taken Part with him, tho' you will find he has used their Names in his published Letters.

There has been an Uneasiness at Newport in which there had nearly been broken Heads upon a Design of some to furnish Blankets. Maryland refused their Flour till the Congress advised them to send it to Lloyd for the Army. Such is the Sand-Rope. I might mention no more Lumber can they get from the Eastward. If no other Correspondent obeys you, I am sure you must allow I write according to Order, *any Thing*, and perform it *any how*.

I imagine the Ministry will receive Letters by this Opportunity which will embarrass them more than how to get the Port open, which God grant may be never unless the other Acts dye with the Port-Bill. How are the obstinate Miscreants who continue yet in this Town to be secured from Injury without a Garrison? You will receive the highest Paintings from them of Danger to their Lives and Property. The first they know in their Consciences are secured by the Education of this Country, and as to the other they must take their chance. I believe myself that their grain may rot in the Field for want of Reapers, more than they can muster in their own Family. This and a long etc. of that kind they may look for. They esteem themselves of such Importance that the Ministry must keep up the Discontent of [the] whole Continent upon their Accounts only, tho' their personal Security is evident by the Rides they take to Cambridge and other Places, and their passing and repassing from their Card Clubs at all Hours in the Dark as well as by Day Light.

SAMUEL STILLMAN [3] TO PATIENCE WRIGHT.

BOSTON, NEW ENGLAND, NOVR. 13th, 1774.

MADAME, — Yours of July 23 and August 3 now lie before me. I am much obliged to you for your repeated Remembrance of your old Friend; hope you will not be weary in well-doing.

I wrote to you very lately by a Ship from Marblehead, belonging to Colonel Lee, who assured me that he would order the captain to deliver my Letter to you with his own Hand. In fact Letters miscarry so in this Day, that I have no more Encouragement to put

[1] Robert Auchmuty (–1788).

[2] John Troutbeck (–1779), assistant rector of King's Chapel. See Foote, *History of King's Chapel*, I. 188.

[3] (1737–1807), pastor of the First Baptist Church, Boston.

them in the Bag. This I expect will be delivered to you by a Youth, one Thomas Allen, whose Parents are Members of our Church.

Political Affairs are much as they were when I wrote last. The Congress have finished their Business, and have retired to their respective Homes. Their whole Proceedings will soon be published; at present we have only Extracts: these I send you. Their Conduct is much admired by the Continent. I will not retail what you may have by wholesale, by reading the enclosed. I send it for the Amusement of yourself and Friends. Such a Spirit of Union, Firmness, Intrepidity, and Readiness to sacrifice every less Consideration for the Cause of Liberty, I never conceived possible among a Sett of Beings, whose *primum Mobile*, in common, is Self-interest. The People thro' the Continent are actuated by one Soul, they have laid aside every Distinction of Name and Party, but that of *Friends of Freedom*. The Fire has kindled, and like a Shock of Electricity ran thro' this western World. No Signs of Fear on one Hand, nor Rashness on the other: but a moderate and firm Opposition to any Attempt to enslave America. I have the Pleasure to find, that some who for Years had been on the Side of Government have changed Sides, and now unite with the Majority of the People against Oppression. If asked the Reasons of this Change of Sentiments and Conduct, they frankly confess, That the Measures of Administration are too flagrant to be any longer extenuated, too tyrannic to be any longer endured.

In this Province all is quiet: the People are indeed thro' the 4 New England Provinces engaged in learning the military Art. But determine never to begin Hostilities; they mean to act on the defensive only. Rebellion, shocking Word, undeserved Charge, they never tho't of. They revere the House of Hanover: but submit to the present Measures they will not. I hope, and pray that Heaven will prevent the Horrors of a civil War. Shall Brethren go to War with Brethren! forbid it Reason, forbid it Heaven! May the King of Kings once more bring about a happy and honorable Union between Great Britain, and these Colonies. We wish not for Indedependence; nor are we disaffected to his Majesty: but we have too great a Sense of the Privileges of Englishmen, too much of the Spirit of Britons, and too great a Conviction of our own Importance, to consent to be Slaves. Governor Gage has acted a more moderate Part for some Weeks past, than he did on his first Arrival amongst us. We are yet in Prison in this Town; but we seem to forget our Circumstances, thro' the Friendship and Generosity of the other Colonies. They seem as if they would pluck out their very Eyes or us, were such an Act necessary to comfort and support us. The

Bishop of St. Asaph's Speech [1] is highly esteemed by us, and his Name recorded among the worthy Patriots.

But I must lay an Embargo on my Pen for the present: after assuring you of the Welfare of my Family. Mrs. Stillman joins heartily in Regards to you. Remember me, tho' unknown, to that celebrated female Advocate for the Rights of Mankind, Mrs. Macaulay. Write often, and be sure to fill your Paper, which will ever gratify your old Friend,

SAM'L STILLMAN.

P. S. Another Congress are to meet in May: the Delegates for Connecticut are already chosen by their General Assembly. Write by the Bearer of this.

FROM GEORGE GREENE.[2]

Wednesday Evening, 23d Novr., [1774].

DEAR SIR, — The next Saturday afternoon at 4 o Clock is appointed by Mr. Keen and my Lady Huntingdon for your drinking Tea with her Ladyship at her Apartments near the Tabernacle, Moorfields; and I am desired to shew you the way, which I will do with pleasure. If you are not engaged to Dine on that day it is Mr. Keen's desire that you will Dine with him and myself at Islington, at a public house which he frequents there. I beg your answer directly by the penny post. You have nothing to do but write a few lines and give it to *Nelly* with a penny, and order her to put it into the penny post office in Coventry Street, directing it agreeable to my Card No. 55 North side St. Paul's, and it will come safe to me in a few hours. If you can Dine there, be with me at my Lodgings by 12 o Clock on Saturday — if to drink Tea only, be with me one hour before the time, my Lodgings being all in the way. I am, with much affection, your very sincere friend and humble Servt.

G. GREENE.

For Salem, Capt. Coues, next Saturday.

For N. York, Capt. Bussell, Do.

If you wish to get into the House of Lords next Tuesday to hear the King's Speech, and do not depend on any body else, let me know

[1] Jonathan Shipley (1714–1788). The reference is to his *Speech intended to have been spoken* on the Boston Post Bill. For the many editions, see Sabin, XIX. 476.

[2] (1742–*c*1800), of Boston, who lived in England at least as early as 1774. He married in 1769, Katherine, daughter of Thomas and Joanna (Gardner) Aspinwall.

and I believe I can procure you a birth, tho' it is become immensely difficult, Members of the House of Commons being frequently refused to bring in a friend with them.

I cannot be easy before I put in writing what I hastily said by word of mouth last time I saw you, vizt., That the person who *cautioned* you must have been wholly ignorant of my true Character, Spirit and Disposition, and of the nature of the application I had made, which is for a place perfectly agreeable to and paid by the people and without which, as you know, they could not exist as a Government. That I am not asking favours myself, but two noble souls, particular friends of Lord D[artmouth]'s have taken the request wholly upon themselves and made it a matter of their own, as a favor to be done themselves. If I have occasion to do anything in the asking way I shall now ask it as a matter of right on account of the great and unmeritted injury I sustain by the shutting up of the Port and Harbour of Boston; but it is not probable I shall have any such Occasion. Lord D: does not approve of all the measures of Government — that I know for certain, and I believe he is at heart really a friend to America, tho' officially obliged to do some things that are not quite agreeable. But he never approves of tittle tattle or scandalous information, and if he did he would never have it from me, even if it was necessary to obtain my desire; but as it is far from being the case, it would be folly to the last degree in me, in every view of the matter, to do any such thing.

[Addressed] Mr. Quincy. At Mrs. Lawrence's, Arundel Street, Panton Square, Haymarket.

From James Lovell [1]

Boston, Novr. 25, 1774.

Dear Sir, — I imagine I may by this Time congratulate you upon a general Change in the Prejudices of the People of England with Regard to us Americans and our Claims. Be that as it may, I can certainly call on you to rejoice at the firm Continuance of that heaven-inspired Union of the Colonies, which you saw form'd before you left us. I think it wou'd not now be in the Power of the whole mercantile Interest of America, join'd together in Devotion to the ministerial System of Tyranny, to beguile the country Yeomanry. The Multiplication of Committees *out* of the Sea-Ports, to see to the Execution of the Resolutions of the General Congress, gives a finishing Damp to the Spirits of Messrs. the Importers under the

[1] Printed in part in Quincy, *Memoir*, 180.

former Combination. When Jackson and Taylor [1] can't see a Door of escape open, we may safely conclude that the Eye of every other Son of Trafick will search in vain even for a *Crevice*.

Our private Accounts are such from Quebec as to make us think that Administration cannot possibly receive, even from Governor Guy [Carleton], such strong Assurances of the blood thirsty Disposition of the Canadians as at least Lord North's Heart longs for. Heaven appears to continue it's Patronage of our Cause, and to defeat the Expectations of our Enemies in every Quarter. Sewall, Auchmuty and such like have led the General to pursue the stupid Thought that this People have no Right to attempt the Preservation of the publick Liberty but just in that Road which is effectually block'd up by the late Mandamus. Hence an Attack upon the Provincial Congress by a ridiculous Proclamation, which will prove as important as a former one respecting the non-Consumption Covenant, or as H. Gray's Advertizement in Regard to the Treasury. The Congress are again together at Cambridge to receive the Report of Messrs. the 4 Delegates, who, except J[ohn] A[dams], Esqr., are Members of this Assembly. A Voice more familiar to the Ears of 7/8ths of them than Dr. Warren's will, I dare say, often try it's Efficacy upon them this Session.

Cowardice and Insolence hold a divided Empire in the Breasts of Tyrants. I have it thro' so direct a Channel as a Colonel that, in the Heat of the County and Provincial Remonstrances against the Work on the Neck, as the probable Cause of provoking the Spirits of the People to an immediate violent Decision, it was *determin'd* to stop Hands, and to compleat the Work in the Spring. But just at that critical Period the advice of the continental Congress came to restrain Violence except upon downright Necessity; which Necessity was known to mean the taking up of Individuals. Upon this the Works went on magnanimously even to polishing off with Whitewash; and now tis boasted they are as strong as those of Gibralter. Nor will it be strange if you see display'd in London an Account most pompous of the military Genius of Gage in Return for the following Compliments upon Somebody in England, in a letter which the Philadelphians say is there *damn'd* as authentic, and which we here believe to be so, from its exact Conformity to the whiffling Conduct we were Witnesses of at G[age]'s first Arrival: Extract. "I have, my Lord, to the utmost Extent of my Power, executed those *private* Matters given to me in Charge by your Lordship, and by *their Success* am still more confirm'd in your Lordship's profound political Researches, and extensive Knowledge of

[1] Probably William Jackson and John Taylor. Rowe, *Diary*, 196.

Mankind in general." Here must have been Cash to such poor Wretches as Nat Ray and Promises of Place to other Traytors.

You will make yourself Master of the strenuous Efforts that some villains will make by this Opportunity for the Continuance of a Garrison in Boston. How cou'd London, Bristol, or any mercantile City there endure the Fife and Drum of 11 Regiments in it's Streets at several Tunes each Day? Here they are, mangled by Twenties for Drunkenness, while Virginia is going thro' all that bloody Scene which the Massachusetts sustain'd a Century upon their Frontiers without the least Aid from England. We had not indeed *then* the Mortification of thinking the English Ministry set the Savages upon us, because we had not *then* such a Foundation to build upon as the stirring up of the french roman catholicks of Canada against us. We *used* to conclude both moved by the same Agents; and *was* not that a natural Conclusion? I appeal to the Framers of the Quebec Bill.

Do, my Friend, be very attentive to the plausible Pretences which may be formed for fixing Troops here in case of Relief in other Matters. Englishmen will never lose their Priviledges, *only* when they are in good Humour. My Fears for America have always been greatest when Britain appear'd most condescending. A Courtier-Minister will be likely to do more with us than all the Bullies on both Sides the Tweed united. But I will hope even the former cannot accomplish our Ruin at this Period of our Society; for it is not analogous to the divine Proceedings to destroy growing States but to spare them till they reach mature Corruption like that of Rome or —— [Britain.] I wish you Health and all Happiness, being your affectionate Friend and very humb. Servant,

JAS. LOVELL.

FROM JOSIAH QUINCY, SR.

[October 26, 1774.]

DEAR SON, — It is now four Weeks since you sailed, and if my Prayers are heard, and the Petition of them granted, your Health is restored; your Voyage comfortable and your Arrival safe. News, that would be almost as joyfull and reviving to your aged Father, as to hear that, thro' your Mediation, Peace and Harmony were restored between the Parent State and her injured and oppressed children upon this Continent.

I have not, nor shall forget to inform you of Facts, as they have taken, or may take Place since you left us; but my retired Situation won't permit my gratifying you so much as I should, otherwise, be glad to.

All the Tories and some of the Whigs resent your clandestine Departure. Many of the Former say that as soon as your Arrival is known you will be apprehended and secured. One [1] in particular offered to lay 10 Guineas you were not gone to London, provided another 10 Guineas were laid, that you wou'd not be hanged when you got there. Some say, you are gone to Holland, and from thence to the South of France. Others say, the general Congress have appointed and commission'd you their Agent, at the Court of Great Britain, and that you had your Credentials and Instructions from them, before you went away. Your Friends say, your principal Motive is the Recovery of your Health, which, if Providence should please to restore, they rest assured of your best Endeavours to procure a Redress of the Grievances, and a speedy Removal of the intolerable Burthens, with which your native Country is, and has been long oppressed. I had almost forgot to tell you, that your sister Q[uincy], who is here upon a Visit, says she heard a Gent[leman] say, you loved Money too much to be trusted at a Court where every Thing is bought and sold; that if they could not refute your Arguments in the Defence of your Country, they wou'd Offer invincible Arguments to induce you to betray it. Thus, you see, how much you are a general Subject of Conversation. Perhaps there never was an American, not even a D[ickinson] nor a F[rankli]n, whose Abilities have raised the Expectations of their American Brethren more than yours. God Almighty grant, if your Life and Health is spared, that you may exceed them in every Respect.

I last Monday dined with your Wife at her Father's where I had the Pleasure of seeing and caressing both my dear grand children. The lovely *Bony* and his Mamma, I expect, the Week after next, will come and spend a Month or two with us. When in Town, I found two political Productions: An Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America,[2] and a Letter from Lord Lyttleton to Lord Chatham on the Quebec Bill. They are each of them esteemed masterly Performances by their respective Partizans. Before this reaches you, I doubt not you will have received the *Former* from it's Author, whose distinguished Abilities shine thro' this, equally, if not superior, to his former Productions: however, I regret his allowing Great Britain a Revenue from the Colonies whilst she persists in her Claim of an exclusive Trade with them, which appears to me to be an over Ballance for all the Protection she has, or can afford us; especially when it is considered, that all the Profits resulting from the immense Extent of Territory, ceded to her at the Treaty of Paris, remain solely to her, at the

[1] J[onatha]n S[ewal]l.

[2] By John Dickinson.

same Time we are restrained from the profitable whale and cod Fishery in the Bay of St. Lawrence and Straights of Belisle, which we formerly enjoyed without Interruption: But perhaps I am mistaken and therefore submit to his better judgment.

If I am not greatly mistaken there is not a single Argument in Lord Lyttelton's Letter whereby he endeavours to prove the Justice, Wisdom, Benevolence and Policy of Parliament in indulging the Canadians with the french Laws which won't much more forceably concludè in Behalf of these Colonies that their respective Constitutions and Laws should remain inviolate and the Rights and Privileges secured by them upon no Pretence whatever be abridged. Where then is the Wisdom, the Benevolence, and Justice of Parliament? And what besides low Cunning and left handed Policy could induce them to their past and present Violent Measures, which must ultimately be as injurious to them as they are and can be to us? But his Lordship in the Close of his Letter tells us it is necessary to conciliate the Affection of the Canadians and thereby induce them to assist Administration in *coercing* America. Read the Passage, attend to the meaning of it, and then, if you can, suppress your Indignation. What! have we Americans spent so much of our Blood and Treasure in aiding Britain to conquer Canada, that Britons and Canadians in Conjunction may now subjugate us? Forbid it Heaven! Surely the Heart of a Canadian Savage wou'd recoil at the horrid Thought. Is this the "Policy which he recommends as best calculated to unite natural born and adopted subjects in one common Bond of Interest, Affection and Duty?" His Lordship's Letter, I own, has given me both Pleasure and Pain — Pleasure to find him emerging from the Follies and Dissipation of heedless Youth to become a Man of Business and Importance; Pain, to think his first political Essays should be opposed to the Sentiments of his illustrious Uncle, whose meaning, whether relatively to the Quebec Bill or to the coercing America, I apprehend he has intirely mistaken: whose Attachment to the natural and civil Rights of Mankind, as well as his friendly Disposition to his American fellow Subjects, are too deeply impressed upon their Minds to be effaced by any thing Lord Littleton has said or can say to the contrary. But I must quit this Subject to tell you that the Boston news Papers are just come to hand with an Account of his Lordship's sudden Death![1] Had he lived, I doubt not he would soon have viewed things in a very different Light.

By the same conveyance came to hand a Letter from your Sister Lincoln, who ever since you left us, has been rambling to the East-

[1] He did not die until 1779.

ward as far as Portsmouth, and but just return'd. The enclosed bit of Paper, contained in her Letter, will (I doubt not) afford you as much and more heartfelt Joy than it gave me; for which reason I transmit it to you. . . .

The News Papers will inform you of the Death and Character of Mr. Molineaux,[1] who to the last Breath was anxious for the publick Safety; and it is more than probable you will hear also of the premature Death of poor Tommy Gray, who a few Days since, returning from Plymouth, was overset in his Carriage, broke both the Bones of one of his Legs, and otherwise bruised so as that his Life is despaired of.[2]

The Reputation of our Friend Mr. C——g[3] is greatly, and I fear deservedly suffering, on Account of his applying the money he received out of the Treasury, to be remitted for the brass Cannon, to the Discharge of his private Obligations, which, if true, is an infamous Breach of Trust.

Mr. Haven,[4] who preach'd to us last Sunday and lodg'd with us the ensuing Night, said, Mr. Gordon of Roxbury shewed him a Paragraph of a Letter from his Friend in Philadelphia, wherein he tells him, they thought their Speaker, Mr. Galloway, a man of learning and a fine Orator, but that 50 such Heads compounded would not make a John Adams! I hope for his sake such an hyperbolical Encomium will never come to his knowledge. Thus I have filled my Paper with Occurrences down to the 3d of November; and have only Room to add the affectionate Regards of your good Mamma, join'd to those of your unalterably fond Parent,

J. QUINCY.

FROM RICHARD PRICE.

NEWINGTON-GREEN, Dec: 6th, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — Dr. Franklin has agreed to dine at Mr. Hollis's in Great Ormond-Street next tuesday, or the 13th. It will be an additional pleasure to Mr. Hollis to be favoured at the same time with your company; and I wish to be able to introduce you then to him. I likewise wish you would allow me to introduce you to Lord Shelburne. I have mentioned this to him; and he has told me that he will be glad to see you. May I hope to see you at the Society which meets at the *London*-Coffee-House next Thursday night? I

[1] William Molineux, who died October 22, 1774. Rowe, *Diary*, 286.
[2] *Ib.*, 287.
[3] Cushing?
[4] Samuel Haven.

shall be glad then to settle these things with you. With much regard, I am, Dear Sir, your most obedient and Humble Servant,

RICHD. PRICE.

MATTHEW ROBINSON TO MR. DILLY.

HORTON, 8th Decr., 1774.

SIR, — The Author of a Pamphlet intitled Considerations on the Measures carrying on with respect to the British Colonies in North-America intends very shortly to publish a New Edition of it and will mention your name among the Persons for whom it is printed if it will not be disagreeable to you. You are desired to direct your answer to Matthew Robinson M. Esqr., at Horton near Stythe, Kent. I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

MATT: ROBINSON, M.

Addressed: To Mr. Dilly, Bookseller in the Poultry, London.

FROM JAMES LOVELL.

Decr. 9th, 1774.

DEAR SIR, — Several Days after Callahan had sail'd the inclosed was return'd to Mr. Bromfield with some of his own, which had been given to the Care of a negligent Salemite. I hope your other Friends here have not been careless of writing by Mr. Blowers,[1] who will certainly have had Honor enough to deliver any Charges of that Kind, however widely he may differ from you in political Sentiment or the Intentions of his Voyage. We do not expect any great Favors from his or the immense Mr. Bliss's Representations. The *Scarborough's* and the *Asia's*[2] Arrival have not given those tip-top Spirits to the traiterous Band now prison-cooped in this Town, which on many late Occasions they had discover'd. They appear to be beginning to conceive that Great Britain will not maintain a Resolution to hazard the Profit of all her commercial Intercourse with America barely on their Account. It is certain that Gage himself is in great Complacency on his past Conduct being approv'd by the Ministry, and, we know, that very Conduct has fallen vastly short of the bloody Expectations of those Villains who surround him, in mock Council and as fugitive *Martyrs in the Cause of Government*; so they count themselves. If any Credit is to be given to the public Assertions of a General sent on so vile an Errand as Gage

[1] Samson Salter Blowers (1742–1842).

[2] The *Scarborough* arrived August 6 and the *Asia* in December.

was when he professed a benevolent mediatorial Intention, we are intitled to believe from his Pleasure upon the late Pacquet that he finds he may exercise his Benevolence with Safety to his Commission. All his past Conduct proves that he judged the Dispute cannot be settled by a Coup de Main; and he must be an Idiot indeed to desire to beat the Bush for some future General's Profit and Glory. You will readily see that such Secresy is observ'd upon the *Scarborough's* Errand that we go wholly upon Conjecture, and you may have Sagacity enough to pick out of the confus'd Manner in which I have express'd myself, that I do not believe the Ministry have signified an Intention to oblige us to take the Field. But while such is *my* Belief, I assure you the general Current is otherwise, and especially in the provincial Congress now sitting. And I further assure you that there appears as full and as cool a Resolution to draw the Sword upon Necessity as to celebrate a Day of Thanksgiving upon an happy Reunion; but I cannot add "*either* with *equal* Pleasure." No, I cannot cast such a Slur upon common humanity, much less can I upon that habitual Affection of Englishman to Englishman, which some notoriously abandon'd Men-in-Power have done so much of late Years to destroy utterly, tho' God be praised! they have done it hitherto in Vain. What an Aceldama wou'd this Province have now been, had no more Humanity ruled in the Hearts or Prudence in the Heads of some of the Executors than what those can possibly pretend to, who were Framers of the late execrable Acts? Perhaps it may be some Solace to those vile Spirits to know that if the Sword they have sent among us is not vigorously executive, this abused City will *in the Spring* be filled with Pestilence and a consequent Degree of Famine. You know it has ever been the Progress of the Small Pox to lurk through the Winter and make rapid strides in the spring. Besides those mention'd in the Gazettes, Coll. Hamilton (too good a Man and Christian for the present vile Expedition) has given Notice *To-day* of a fresh Eruption and the Soldier is sent to the Pest House at the Westward of the Town. But the most alarming Circumstance is that a regimental Doctor said, if the Soldier who was moved *Yesterday* had the true small Pox 40 others had been thoroughly exposed. He has it, and Sexton Barret says he cannot live thro it.

The most resolute Determinations are made here as well as in the other Colonies to execute the Grand Association Plan. We have a large Town Committee, but Salem and Marblehead will give us no opportunity to act, unless the polite and sagacious Graves shou'd make this Harbour the Asylum of refugee Ships, as the General has made the Town one for refugee Traytors. Mr. Solicitor and his

Like at Club last Evening thought Shayler[1] wou'd be admitted, being refused the Use of any Wharfe at Salem. They will conduct themselves at the said Ports in respect to Arrivals between December 1st and February 1st as directed by the Congress, tho' they will contrive every palliative till January 1st.

Some busy Enemies will doubtless expose the Quiet of this Town by importing in the Transport by which you receive this. The Captain has offer'd his Assistance to one or two of his Friends as I am *well* inform'd, and probably to more. If you cannot give us a Clue to trace the Importers by, the Country Committees will in time do it, and I think great Woe will be all the Profit of such clandestine Importations.

While the Tories here say "the Congress have not made any Offers on the Part of the Colonies, so that it is quite impossible for the Ministry to alter their late Plan," I feel confident that their Moderation will surprise, both Enemies and Friends in Great Britain after the many Misrepresentations that have been made of our Designs. I am far from certain that it will not surprise *you*.

Health and Happiness attend you. Yours sincerely,

Js. Lovell.

To Rev. Dr. Philip Furneaux.[2]

Dear Sir, — The Design of this Letter is to recommend Mr. Quincy, from Boston, New England, to your Friendship; in doing which we know that we shall confer an Obligation upon *Yourself*, as well as upon *Him*. At the same Time, we take the Opportunity of expressing our Hope that your Health will be benefited by your Excursion. We are, Dear Sir, Yours, etc.

And: Kippis[3]
Joseph Jeffries
Mah. Towgood

Compliments to Mr. Frank.

From Richard Price.

Newington-Green, Dec. 9th, 1774.

Dear Sir, — I am much obliged to you for the letter with which you favoured me by Dr. Franklin. It would have given me much pleasure to have met you at the London Coffee-House last night. I am to be at Lord Shelburne's in Berkeley-Square next monday

[1] He arrived at Salem from London, November 28, 1774.
[2] (1726–1783). *Dictionary of National Biography*, xx. 330.
[3] (1725–1795). *Ib.*, xxxi. 195.

morning; and if convenient to you, I shall be very glad you would call upon me there any time between half an hour after ten and eleven a clock, that I may have the pleasure of introducing you to his Lordship. I am very glad you can give my friend Mr. Hollis the pleasure of your company to dine with him on tuesday. He goes to dinner at about half an hour after three, and lives in great Ormond Street, Bloomsbury. With the best wishes and much regard I am, Sir, your very obedient and humble Servant,

RICH'D PRICE.

FROM HUGH BAILLIE.[1]

Jany. 28th, 1775.

SIR, — When I consider the present situation of our Publick affairs and compare them with that of Rome, and the Free States of Greece just before they lost their liberty, it gives me very melancholy Ideas. Philip of Macedon before he could conquer that brave free people of Greece, he introduced Luxury, Venality, and dissipation among them, and by corrupting their Leaders and Orators in their Assemblys by Money, he was enabled to conquer that brave people, and Julius Caesar by the same methods laid the foundation for the destruction of the liberties of Rome, and the example of Curio, a Roman Senator, who opposed him with great appearance of Patriotism, and was afterwards among the keenest of his friends, may show us what we have to fear from the innumerable Posts and Pensions that now exist among us. To get the better of his Patriotism it cost Caesar more than £400,000, and that brave people who whilst they continued free were unconquerable, were so dispirited in a few years after they lost their liberty, that the Senate itself in the reign of Tiberius, the second Prince from Caesar, durst not make any resolve without knowing the commands of the Prince, and in Caligula's time (his immediate successor) they were so far degenerated from brave Freemen to Brutes, that they durst not oppose his making his Horse a Consul.

Our situation is such that our only safety depends upon our Fleet. I was with that great Man the late Lord Stairs[2] when Ambassador at Paris, and as he was my relation, I often had the honour of conversing with him, at home, after his return from Paris, and as his love to his country was sincere, when Mr. Robert Walpole cajoled by Cardinal Fleury to a neglect of the national trade, he waited upon the King and told him that by neglecting trade his

[1] Author of *A Letter to Dr. Shebbeare*, and other pamphlets. The letter now printed may not have been written to Quincy.

[2] John Dalrymple (1673–1747), second Earl of Stair.

Minister was sacrificing him and the Nation to France, for said he if by the loss of those of France, we are undone and the King of France can make us a Province to France, when he pleases, as our Fleet can't be all in one place, and the invasion from France may be from different Ports of France, and our Army compared to that of France is a nothing.

Now let us consider the situation of our trade at present. Our chief trade lies with America; by our breaking with them the number of our sailors will be decreased the one-half of what they are, as I am told from Merchants and instead of having the assistance of America, we shall be at War with them, and our Troops and Navy will be employed to destroy the very people by whose assistance and friendship we may be the greatest Nation in Europe. We can have from thence all sorts of naval stores, which costs us near two millions a year to the northern powers of Europe, and from America we should have them in exchange for our manufactures, and in a few years, when that large Continent is better peopled, we should be furnished with wines, raw Silks, Fruits, etc., from thence, which costs us at present more than our naval stores, so that by a breach with America, we not only lose all these advantages and their Assistance against our Enemies, but we likewise deprive our Manufacturers at home of bread, and force the Americans to take what they wanted from Great Britain from France and Holland, and indeed had I been asleep for some years past, I shou'd have thought that some late Acts of Parliament had taken their rise at the court of Versailles, as I am afraid they must have consequences big with the destruction of the British empire, and may probably end in our becoming a Province of France, whenever that ambitious nation find our Fleet and Army engaged to destroy our own strength, by attacking our own collonys, and I believe nobody doubts of their taking hold of that opportunity, whenever it is in their power, and we may consider whether it is better for us to continue as we are, or to be treated by France as the Island of Corsica now is.

I was amazed some days ago to hear of a speech in the house of Commons, mentioning the Merchants of Great Britain as not to be regarded, tho' they shou'd all concur in a Petition, and speaking of the landed interest as what had no connection with Trade. The Gentleman who made this speech I have heard spoken of as a man of sense, and yet there is no mathematical proposition clearer than this: by Trade this nation is become one of the most powerful in the world, and by losing its trade it wou'd dwindle into nothing, with regard to the rest of the powers of Europe, and the landed interest wou'd fall to below a half of what it now pays, and the number of inhabitants wou'd decrease a one-half, and upon

the number of inhabitants the power and riches of any country depend.

I have never heard that the inhabitants of America desired any more from Great Britain than to continue in possession of what they have possessed for 200 years past, and what their Charters entitle them to, which are granted by the Crown, and which the Parliament have virtually confirm'd more than once, and I can't see how it can consist with the honour of the Mother Country to break through their Charters and privileges. The Latin inhabitants of Italy were long the Allies of Rome; they thought themselves entitled to the priviledges of roman Citizens. The Romans refused them that priviledge, which occasion'd a long and bloody War. Afterwards the Romans granted their desire, and never afterwards attempted to deprive them of those priviledges. The case of the Americans is much stronger in their favour. They are our brethren, and were induc'd by the Charters and priviledges granted them to attempt a settlement, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, in a Wilderness; and wou'd it be fair and honourable for their mother Country to break through the Charters and priviledges they have granted them? And indeed, had no priviledges been granted them, it wou'd be the interest of Great Britain to give them all they ask; for no nation can be great under an arbitrary and despotick Power, and particularly a trading nation. And as a very great author observes, arbitrary power is political damnation. And therefore I hope there may be some real friends about his Majesty, who may convince him that entering into a War with America must destroy the greatest Bulwark for his and the national safety, and that all attempts to introduce arbitrary power and Popery to any part of the British dominions is contrary to the intention of the acts of settlement in favour of the Royal Family.

I bore Arms under his Grace the Duke of Argyle in 1715, against the rebels in Scotland, at the head of a company of 52 volunteers, which besides of venturing my life and fortune, it cost me a considerable sum of money. I thought I fought against Popery and Slavery, and shou'd be sorry to live so long [as] to see any encouragement given to these things I fought against, or to see any measures followed, that may occasion jealousies in the minds of his Majesty's subjects.

As I have no concern with any party, and am too old to have any views of Ambition, and don't so much as expect a repayment of the money I expended in the service of the Crown, and therefore have no view by this letter but an honest wish to see the Eyes of my Countrymen open'd, to perceive that the loss of America may in all probability prove the destruction of Great Britain, and there-

fore to induce them to prevent a war with America. I am, Sir, your most Humble Servt.

HUGH BAILLIE,
Doctor of Laws.

P. S. I believe there never was a time when there was a better correspondence between a great majority in Parliament and the ministry than now, and it puts one in mind of what Cicero observes with regard to the situation of Rome in his time. Says he, you must either speak and vote with the Triumvirate, Pompey, Caesar and Crassus, or throw away your speeches and votes by speaking or voting against them. We seem to be galloping into arbitrary Power, and we won't find it easy to get another P[rince] of Orange to bring us out of it.

FROM BRAND HOLLIS.

Mr. Brand Hollis desires Mr. Quincy to accept of this small parcel of books, the only ones he has by him at present, to amuse him in his passage, and as a mark of his esteem and regard. Wishes he may arrive in health and good spirits on his native soil, and has no doubts but that the magnanimity and good sense of his countrymen will fix their Liberties on a solid basis, and knowing the errors of England will avoid them, and hopes they will show to the world a perfect form of Government where Liberty and Justice shall act in Union.

March 2, 1775.

FROM THOMAS BROMFIELD.

LONDON, March 9, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — Mr. Buxted, the pilot, deliver'd me both your acceptable favors of the 6 inst.

I rejoice to learn you are in good spirits, and from your Account doubt not the Voyage will be of service to you; at same time I am sorry for the Accident which has happened to your Cloaths, etc. Misfortunes like that must be expected, and it will be well if we meet with no greater to encounter. Captain Tucker [1] from Salem, who you mention, has been arrived at Bristol a month ago, and consequently bro't no Letters now; but I yesterday received some for you for *Glasgow Pacquet*, Capt. Porterfield, arrived at Glasgow, which are here inclosed. I have also for our House some from Brother Henry and Brother Phillips of 28 Jan'y, beside several

[1] Samuel Tucker.

others. They write that they continue firm, but expect to be involved in great trouble, if coercive measures are pursued, but hitherto nothing material has happened. No Letters are come to hand for Captain Lyde, nor has Mr. Haley received any respecting his ship in any wise. Robson was expected to sail about the middle of February, and we hear of no other ship coming. If any thing very material turns up while I have a prospect of the Letters reaching you, I will not fail to advise; for as I can procure franks it will be attended with no expense to you. You know that Mr. Hyslop has given me hopes he wou'd put his West Indian concerns into our hands, and that he had wrote Deacon Greenough and Doctor Chauncey to that purport. Shall therefore be much obliged to you on your Arrival if you wou'd use your interest with Mr. Phillips to get Deacon Greenough and Doctor Chauncey to grant a power to Abraham Dupuis and Co., without making us the substitute of Mr. Hyslop, who it is not impossible might alter his mind, and this matter pass into some other hand. I have inquired about the Scions and find it is much too late in the present Season, but shall take care to find them in the fall. Mr. Dilly had your Memo. He sends you a Pamphlet, etc., by this post. Mr. Lee desires his respects and says he has nothing new to communicate. Mrs. Bromfield and the rest of the Family desire to be remember'd to you. I am (in haste), Dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

THOS. BROMFIELD.

Addressed: To Josiah Quincy, Esq., on board the *Boston Pacquet*, Capt. Lyde, for New England.

FROM CHARLES DILLY.

LONDON, March 9th, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I am glad to hear by Mr. Bromfield this Day that you are in good spirits and now lying in the Downs.

I found the wind was favourable on Saturday Evening to take you from Gravesend, and therefore it was unnecessary to send the News Papers of the Day, but as I see by the Papers Capt. Lyde's ship is yet in the Downs and probably may be detained there by contrary winds some days longer, I embrace the Opportunity of sending you a few of the last *P[ublic] Advertisers*, and a Pamphlet published this Day; written by the Court Pensioner Dr. Sam'l Johnson, against the Votes of the American Congress. I thought you would be glad to see it. It seems by the Essay in this Day's *P. advertiser* from the State Tinker that an officious friend put a Paragraph into the *Public Adv.* on Tuesday, signed *Plain Truth;*

noticing your Illness, and of Embarking at Gravesend for Salem. This has afforded the State Tinker an Opportunity of exercising his wit upon Dr. Franklin and yourself, which you'll see. The *P. advertiser* of Tuesday I could not get, but cut the Paragraph out of the Paper of that Day from the File at the Printers.

Some Illnatured fellow in the *London News* in yesterday's Paper has put in a reflecting paragraph against you; but anonymous squibs are not worth your notice.

I have neither heard or seen in any other news papers besides the *Pub. Advertiser*, that your name has been mentioned since you left London, except the *Public Ledger* of Tuesday, as a piece of news, that you had left London on your return home to New England.

Mr. Bromfield gave me the direction to write under cover to you, for Mr. Robert Ashington, North end of Deal, and to forward on board any packet which may be sent to him for you. And having procured Franks, they will all come free: and if I find the wind in the same corner tomorrow, I shall probably send some more News Papers. If you are in tolerable health and able to write, I shall be happy to receive a few lines before you quit the English channel.

Brother Edward has been out the whole Day, and will not be home till late in the Evening. He enjoys great good health, and the same unremitting flow of spirits. I wish he would keep a little in the bounds of moderation, but nothing but real illness will bring him to that.

Lord North carries every motion with a high hand. I understand he has this day made another to exclude two or three more Provinces from Fishing on the Banks of New Foundland. The New Yorkers are to have peculiar marks of favour shown to them, by which distinguishing privileges the Ministry are in expectation to have the people of that province on their side. I am, Dear Sir, with the sincerest wishes for the re-establishment of your health, your most obedt. Fr[iend] and humble servant,

CHAS. DILLY.

P. S. I think, by the Memorandum given to Mr. Bromfield to show to us, that you have lent Mr. Hollis your set of Burgh *Polit. Disq*: 3 Vols., and when he sends them to our House, you desire they may be changed for Ld. Chesterfield's *Letters*, or some other book of reputation about that value. If otherwise meant, please, Sir, to explain it.

FROM CHARLES DILLY.

LONDON, 10th March, 1775.

DEAR SIR, — I hope the three Packets under cover to Robt. Ashington, north end of Deal, which I sent by the Post last night, he hath caused to be safely conveyed to you.

I hinted to you, my dear Sir, the Day I last had the pleasure of being in your Company, that a friendly hint or caution from you would be taken in good part by my Brother Edward, who has got into such extravagant wild notions in Politics, and stigmatizes the Characters of great men merely postulatory, that to a stranger he must and does appear in a disagreeable point of view. I do think a few lines of admonition respecting his unpleasing conduct and ridiculous self-importance, written in the style of Friendship, might have the desired effect. I should not have presumed to ask you to do this piece of kindness to him, if I had not heard you coincide with some other gentlemen, that he has not yet learned to *know himself.*

Tho' he may be inflexable in folly, yet I hope not so obdurate as to reject advice sincerely meant for his good. My Brother is really a good natured and well disposed man; but is dreadfully contaminated with false ideas in politics; and could he be diverted from the prattle of Government affairs, he would then return and be the useful man in business, as he has heretofore been. I must beg, Sir, you would not take notice to Brother Ed. what I have requested of you, because that would at once destroy what I wish to have produced — a reformation in him. Pray do not read or mention to a second person concerning my Brother; tho' I needed not to have cautioned you, as your superior understanding will I know have no occasion for it. Mr. Bromfield's Clerk has just now been with me and says he shall send you the *Ledger* of yesterday and today. I hope after this is received the wind will be in your favour and waft you to Salem with the utmost expedition and safety, and in perfect health. I remain, Dear Sir, your obliged friend and H. servant,

CHS. DILLY.[1]

[1] A brief note from Dilly, dated March 30, 1775, says: "The *P[ublic] Advertiser* of the 20th, signed Americus, takes notice of you, for which reason I have procured it for you, and the Essay cut out of the *P. A.* of yesterday is a continued piece of abuse of Dr. Franklin from the State Tinker."

From William Lee.

London, 3 April, 1775.

Dear Sir, — I wrote you a short line to Boston, inclosed to Mr. Phillips. I hope the sea air and exercise will restore you to a perfect state of health, and that you will have a happy meeting of your Family. After you left us the Merchants with a good deal of dexterity were bro't to the inclosed petition to the King, which is tolerably explicit. You know how the Committee in general were affected; your friend Bromfield stood close to the stuff to the last.

You have a Pamphlet written by my Brother [1] in support of the Congress' petition to the King, the Lords' protest, an Address to the Soldiers which was inclosed you before.

Be pleased to communicate the contents to Sam'l Adams, Esq., and let him know that in the course of last summer I wrote him many letters which were inclosed to a Mr. Bromfield Glover in Boston, with several inclosures, and that I should be glad to know if he has received any of them.

Late letters from Massachusetts give the friends of Liberty here much pleasure, as they declare the firmness of the People and their determination to support their Liberties like men. For my own part I see the hand of Providence most evident in this business. Jerusalem was visited for its sins, but after a time it arose with redoubled splendor; so I hope will Boston, where the wickedness of some Merchants, the Hutchinsons, Olivers, Sewalls, etc., is great enough to draw down on that unhappy Town the vengeance of Heaven. Some of the merchants there have wrote to several houses here for goods. However, they are not sent, but large quantities under the Patronage of the Ministers have been sent in the *Francis*, late *John Wilkes*, for Boston, and Captain Deverson is at this moment loading with Merchandise for the same Port. He will be quite full, the value at least £50,000, which is paid for to the Tradesmen before the goods are ship'd; a part of his Cargo is 300 hhds of refined Sugar, 3 or 400 chests of bohea Tea, besides Bale goods, Trunks, etc. These ships belong to Massachusetts, are both Transports in the Government Service, and the goods are to be landed at Boston under the military Protection. As all the other associating Colonies have religiously adhered to the Association of the last Continental Congress, you will take care to prevent the above transaction from creating a division. The Enemies in New York will take every advantage and will be glad of every trivial

[1] *A Speech intended to have been delivered in the House of Commons in support of the Petition from the General Congress at Philadelphia.* 1775.

circumstance to revile the friends of their Country and to contrive a disunion.

Besides the money, £1000, a man paid to several members in the New York Assembly previous to their meeting in January last, large sums have since been sent there and to some other Colonies to bribe particular men. Dr. Smith[1] in Philadelphia should be watch'd. You have Mr. Burke's motions in the H[ouse] of C[ommons] on the 22d of March, which are the Rockingham parties creed with respect to America. The Livery of London are to meet the 5 Instant in Common Hall to petition the Throne for redress of American grievances. The States of Holland have at the instigation of our Ministers prohibited the exportation of arms, etc.; but Spain is still open, so you know what you have to depend on. I trust you will find America united; but in my opinion if the 4 New England Provinces and Colonies were left alone they ought to persevere in support of their Liberty. I am with Great Esteem, Dear Sir, Your most obedt. Servt.

WILLIAM LEE.

FROM WILLIAM LEE.[2]

LONDON, 12 April, 1775.

SIR, — Mr. L[ee] desires his respects and says that he has wrote you twice by via Philadelphia and once direct to Boston.

It is said that £25,000 has been sent to General G[age] for the purpose of Bribery, and that Major S—— is now gone to Philadelphia with money to Bribe the Congress.

Dr. P[rice] desires his best respects to you and says he shall very soon send you what he promised: He tells me that of the Troops destined for America Four Regiments are going for New York, and Two for Albany, to intercept the communication between those two places; the remainder are for Genl. G[age], upon the arrival of which he is to quit the Town and take the Field, for they reckon the Americans are mere Cowards and will not fight; Genl. G. per his last Letters says he is more and more assured that they would quietly submit. This account he has from Col. B[arré?]. 'T is still his opinion that the quarrel can not be terminated without fighting, which the sooner it happens the better.

Mr. C.[3] a capital N. E. merchant told but a few days past a friend of mine, that the Ministry's Plan was a wise measure, if the prin-

[1] William Smith (1727–1803).

[2] This letter is unsigned and is in a feigned writing, which may be an engrossing form of Lee's handwriting.

[3] Champion?

cipal Merchants trading to America are Abettors of the Ministry, Men who as you justly observed ought to have America inscribed on their Carriages, Equipages, etca., and gratitude on their Hearts! You need not be surprised that matters are carried with so high an hand. God grant that they may meet with their just rewards; and I hope that those who have so barefacedly shipped from Boston at this time will not be overlooked by those who have it in their powers to resent it properly. From the several conversations I have had, I form my opinion that if the Americans should give up the points in dispute, they will be despised not only by the Sons of Liberty everywhere, but by even the Ministerial hirelings, as numbers of them have acknowledged to me that they blame you not for endeavoring to prevent the imposition of unnecessary Taxes on you. Three Millions and an half of Free born Men cannot surely ever be brought to Submission by an handful of Mercenaries.

From Thomas Bromfield.

London, 6 May, 1775.

Dear Sir, — I wrote you a little while past, since which I have reminded your Friends not to omit acquainting you with every thing material regarding publick Affairs. Doctor L[ee] has often been with me to know if I had received any Letters for him; he has received but one since your departure, and that by accident I saw thro' the cover of a pacquet for Folger, address'd to you. I therefore ventured to open said cover and deliver that to him; the other two contained therein were letters for you, which I shall return with others for some safe conveyance. The Doctor thinks you should have given me leave to open the Pacquets addressed to you, as he judges there must among some of them be more Letters for him, but I told him I did not dare to open any others. That which I did open I cou'd not refuse to do, because his name was so conspicuous thro' the cover, and the handwriting seemed to be Doctor Chauncey's.

The accounts gained some time ago from New York respecting the majority in the Assembly in favor of Government, highly elated the ministerial people here, but on receiving the last accounts from thence that a great majority of Free Men and Free Holders had agreed to send delegates to the Congress, they are much chagrined, tho' they still entertain great hopes of what the fleet and army will do, when the regiments arrive, and that the great number talk'd of by some of your people which are ready to join them, will enable them to obtain obedience without much trouble. I do

think the people in general here have no notion that there will be any bloodshed. Otherwise they sure would not be so contented as they yet seem. It is the opinion of most of the ministerial merchants that there will be none; for they, as well as others, think the bare appearance of the Forces will sufficiently intimidate you. I have desired Messrs. Dilly to forward you from time to time such newspapers as may contain any thing regarding you, or be of material information, which he has promised to do. I hope soon to hear of your safe arrival. I have sent you per Capt. Jenkins the *Parliamentary Register*. Mrs. Bromfield joins me in proper respects to you and Mrs. Quincy. Am, Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

THOS. BROMFIELD.

Mr. FORD made a communication on

CONVERSION OF JOHN THAYER, 1783.

The Society recently obtained from Amsterdam a perfect copy of the Portuguese edition of the *Relation of the Conversion of the Rev. Mr. John Thayer*, at one time a Protestant minister at Boston, who "embraced the Roman Catholic Religion at Rome, on the 25th of May, 1783." This Lisbon issue contains the English and Portuguese version on alternate pages. The titlepage is here reproduced. The story of John Thayer is told in Rev. Arthur T. Connolly's "Historical Sketch of the Rev. John Thayer, Boston's first native-born Priest" (1888), with a natural tendency to exaggerate the importance of the man and his conversion; and the issues of the *Relation* are, in part, noted in Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana*.

The bibliographical features of this tract present some difficulties. While it may be probable that the *Relation* was printed soon after 1783, the first dated issue known is that of Barcelona, 1787. In the year 1788 William Goddard of Baltimore made a reprint of a "fifth London edition." No edition with a London imprint has been located, and the British Museum does not contain any example of the work printed on an English press. The Boston Public Library possesses a "third edition," printed at Manchester by G. Swindells, but the titlepage is without the year of publication. This raises a question on the explanation offered of the "fifth edition" — that the continental printings must be counted. The Portuguese edition has an English as well as the Portuguese text,

suggesting a translation direct from an English issue. In the John Carter Brown Library there is a French issue, published by Prevost in 1788. From the French version a translation was made into Spanish and printed at Valencia, in 1788. Thus

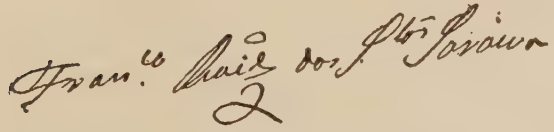
RELAÇAÕ
DA
CONVERSAÒ
DO R. SENHOR
JOAÕ THAYER
Pouco ha Miniſtro Proteſtante em Boſton na America do Norte:

ESCRITA POR ELLE MESMO.

A que vaõ annexos varios Extractos de huma Carta eſcripta a ſeu Irmaõ: e outra de huma Senhora de poucos annos, que elle admittio á Igreja.

Miſericordias Domini in æternum cantabo.
Hei de cantar eternamente as miſericordias do Senhor. *Pſ.* 88. 1.

LISBOA
NA OFFIC. PATR. DE FRANCISCO LUIZ AMENO.
M. DCC. LXXXVIII.
Com licença da Real Meza da Commiſſaõ Geral ſobre o Exame, e Cenſura dos Livros.



four dated issues for 1787 and 1788 — French, Portuguese and Spanish — are known, and it is possible that a fifth — in English — was in circulation at that time. It is quite improbable, however, that an English printer would have counted the

continental issues before giving an edition number to his own publication, whether the known "third edition" of Manchester, or the unknown "fifth" London edition.

This Society has another edition, the "sixth," bearing the imprint of Bowen and Howard, Wilmington, North Carolina, and published in 1789. At the foot of the titlepage there are two crudely printed lines, evidently stamped on after the pamphlet had been folded and stitched, "For, and at the expense of the Reverend Patrick Cleary." This issue was known neither to Finotti nor to Evans, and the Society's copy is probably unique, unfortunately wanting a leaf after p. 40. A Latin version, made by Henry Louis Hulot, bears the imprint "Monasterii Westphalorum, 1794," and a copy is in the Boston Public Library. In 1805 John Reynolds, of Kilkenny, printed a "fifth edition," making use of a London pamphlet of 1788; in 1809 J. Boyce of Dublin, and in 1832 the editors of the United States Catholic Press at Hartford, Connecticut, reprinted the *Relation*, and the Library of Congress has a Philadelphia issue of 1837. A press in Hartford or New Haven printed it in 1840. These are the separate issues which have come to my notice, and no attempt is made to record the number of times the *Relation* has been used in compilations. In the Harvard College Library is a manuscript of the *Relation* in French.[1]

[1] Rev. Henry J. Shandelle, S.J., librarian of the Riggs Memorial Library, Georgetown University, courteously gave me information of the editions of Barcelona (1787), Dublin (1809) and Connecticut (1840).

MEMOIR

OF

SAMUEL SAVAGE SHAW

By WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN

Samuel Savage Shaw was the youngest son of Lemuel Shaw, the great Chief Justice, by his second wife, Hope Savage Shaw. He was born in the house numbered 89 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, and there he died on September 24, 1915. He was of the purest of English stock. His immigrant ancestor, Abraham Shaw, described as a "clothier," came from the village of Northowram in the borough of Halifax, Yorkshire, England, and in 1636 was settled in Watertown, Mass. He was one of the petitioners to the General Court for the setting up of a new township to be called "Contentment," which in the end, however, received the name of "Dedham." Upon its organization he removed to the new town, was made a freeman on March 9, 1637, and on August 18, 1637, was there allotted twelve acres of land.

The line of descent was as follows: Abraham Shaw was married in England to Briggit, daughter of Henry Best of Ovenden, also in the borough of Halifax. His younger son, John, after his father's death, went with the rest of the family to Weymouth, and there married Alice, daughter of Nicholas Phillips. His son Joseph, "farmer and miller," born April 15, 1664, married Judith, daughter of John and Sarah Whitmarsh, and settled in East Bridgewater. His son, John, the first of a line of educated men, graduated from Harvard College in 1729, married Ruth, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Angier of Watertown, and became the settled minister of the South Parish in Bridgewater. His son, Oakes, graduating from Harvard College in 1758, and marrying for a second wife Susanna, daughter of John Hayward of Braintree, was settled over the parish at

West Barnstable from 1760 to 1807. Their son, Lemuel, graduating from Harvard College in 1800, after a distinguished career at the bar and in the service of the State, became Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court and served in that capacity with ever-increasing distinction for thirty years. He married a second time, in August, 1827, Hope, the daughter of Dr. Samuel Savage of Barnstable. The younger of two sons by this marriage was Samuel Savage Shaw, the subject of this memoir.

Young Shaw's upbringing was that of a Beacon Hill boy of the period. He was sent at a tender age to dames' schools on the back side of the hill, first to one kept by a Miss Guliker, later to that of Miss Paddock. Afterwards he went for a time to the "Monitorial School" presided over by George W. Fowle. All this by way of preparation for serious study. Up to the end of the Civil War and somewhat later, rich and poor alike in Boston sent their boys to the Latin School to be fitted for college. The private schools of Beacon Hill and the Back Bay, Hopkinson's, Noble and Greenough's, Volkmann's, and Stone's, came later, and flourished, only in turn at a later period to be driven by the rivalry of the rural academy and country school to the outlying suburbs where playing fields abound and the urban parent is freed from anxiety for the entire day.

Accordingly at the age of eleven young Shaw was sent to the Boston Latin School for the full five years' course, at the end of which in 1849 he went to Cambridge and was matriculated. He was the fourth Shaw in line to enter Harvard College and was graduated in due course with the Class of 1853. From his entrance into college with this class as a Freshman until his death his life was largely bound up with its fortunes; the class took the place of a family, his classmates were his friends. In 1863 he became the Class Secretary, and in 1913 he was the prime mover in publishing the "Report of the Harvard Class of 1853," issued "on the Sixtieth Anniversary for the Use of the Class and its Friends," the first of a series of like college publications of considerable historical interest. With characteristic modesty the Secretary furnished the material in the shape of sketchy biographies of his classmates, but declined the editorship, contenting himself with an eight-line "Preface." The editor, however, went on to state that "the work of the Class Secre-

tary has been such as to reduce the task assigned me to its lowest terms." For this report Mr. Shaw prepared a sketch of his own life written in the same detached manner as the other biographic outlines. His original "Record Book" of the class was said to be "a fine example of old-time penmanship, clear and distinct, and resembling copperplate engraving."

The biographical sketch of himself, after reciting the facts of his early life, set forth that after graduation he attended the Harvard Law School for two years, receiving the degree of LL.B., and thereafter, by way of further preparation for the bar, spent a third year "in the office of Sidney Bartlett, Esq., a former partner of his father." On April 1, 1856, he was admitted to the bar. Then followed the customary "grand tour" in Europe, covering the remainder of 1856 and a large part of 1857. In August, 1856, he arrived in Berlin, "where he settled down in a German boarding house and made an assiduous study of the German language with fair success." Pending this studious sojourn, he writes that "the attractions of the royal theatre, opera and ballet were not neglected." In May, 1857, he reached Paris, where "he spent a little over three months and endeavored to improve his time in the study of the French language," but he does not express an opinion upon his "success" in this effort. From 1856 to 1896 he varied his practice of the law in Boston by further travels in Europe. "The whole of that business life" of his, as he called his professional work, "was very quiet and uneventful, consisting, with some conveyancing, mostly in the care of property and the settlement of estates." In 1896 he retired from practice and set out upon a further series of travels abroad, which, so far as described, ceased in 1906.

This brief record of Mr. Shaw's life contained the statement that he "was elected very unexpectedly a Resident Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1903." It was entirely fitting that he should become such a member as was his distinguished father before him; he took his membership seriously, proving a consistent donor of historical material and a valuable working member. His continued interest in the proceedings of the Society was shown by his attendance upon more than two-thirds of the meetings occurring during his membership. He was a member at large of the Council from 1906 to 1909, and at the annual meeting of 1908 he prepared and presented its report

to the Society as the chairman of the committee charged with that duty. He also served faithfully and competently from 1907 to 1914 as a member of the House Committee.

The proceedings of the Society set forth that in February, 1904, Mr. Shaw communicated the original of a letter from Henry Phillips, a principal in the notorious Woodbridge-Phillips duel, in which the former was killed, and talked entertainingly of the same. He also presented letters from the papers of his grandfather, Rev. Oakes Shaw, and one from Governor Hutchinson to the Rev. Gideon Hawley, minister to the Indian Church at Mashpee. At the May meeting of 1908 he gave the Society a political print of the time of George III, entitled "The Scotch Victory," dedicated to the Earl of Bute; also a printed handkerchief commemorating the death of Washington. At the February meeting of 1910 he added the originals of ten letters from Samuel Adams to Samuel Phillips Savage, President of the Massachusetts Board of War, and again at the April meeting following, "important manuscripts and broadsides of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods of Massachusetts history." At the May meeting next ensuing he again drew on the Samuel Phillips Savage Collection for the benefit of the Society, among the papers then given being "A Map of the British Dominions, drawn by Hermann Moll in 1715, on which Captain Jeffrey Gray has drawn in manuscript the proposed line of forts or 'barrier scheme' of 1725 against Indian incursions, extending from Boston to Bay Chaleur." This was the map exhibited to the Society by Chief Justice Shaw in July, 1855. At the June meeting of 1911 the Editor submitted gifts from Mr. Shaw, comprising further printed and manuscript material. Mr. Shaw also gave the Society a cane belonging to the Chief Justice made from timber of the frigate *Constitution*.

Three memoirs of deceased members of the Society were written by Mr. Shaw. At the April meeting of 1904 he submitted a memoir of Henry Stedman Nourse, and at the December meeting of 1905, and at that of January, 1908, he successively submitted memoirs of his close friend and classmate Uriel Haskell Crocker and of Henry Gardner Denny. These biographical appreciations, like the published sketches of his classmates, were sympathetic portrayals each of its subject. Far from bearing the perfunctory character sometimes disclosed by such perform-

ances, each memoir formed a just, lifelike and individual pen portrait of the person sought to be described.

Besides membership in this Society, the only other quasi-public work done by Mr. Shaw was as a Trustee and Secretary of the Boston Library Society, to which he left a legacy.

Mr. Shaw was a shy, somewhat prim and modest gentleman. While not a recluse, he lived a retiring and self-contained life. The nearest approach he had to intimate friends was his college classmates, yet the one of these described as being "as close a friend as anyone" to him "could hardly have been called intimate." In private life a courteous, formal and unobtrusive gentleman, he would seem in his professional career to have been a respectable and dependable office lawyer. The tasks which came his way he performed thoroughly and conscientiously, but whether because he lacked the spur of necessity or whether he felt oppressed by the "shadow of a great name," he never developed the latent power with which he was evidently endowed or attained the eminence in his profession for which his talents fitted him. Given the requisite industry, incentive and subject, Mr. Shaw might well have succeeded as a writer of biography. He had the sympathetic insight, the graphic pen and the biographic aptitude; he lacked only the zeal and opportunity. Thus he led throughout his career a quiet, refined and leisurely life, content to do inconspicuously the duties, whether social or professional, that fell in his way. His habits once formed, it was difficult for him to form new ones; a new one added to the old, it was equally difficult for him not to follow it. Somewhat of a *bon vivant*, he resisted for years invitations to join the Union Club, yet once a member the club became a second home, the resort of his declining years, and there he was stricken with the fatal illness that caused his death.

In his undemonstrative way he was very fond of his friends, he performed well such personal duties as came in his way, his private and professional life each was above reproach, and he died full of years, a much respected friend, lawyer and citizen. He was never married.

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